

THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Vol. XXXVIII

FALL, 1976

No. 3

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Published by the
ALABAMA STATE DEPARTMENT
OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY
Montgomery, Alabama

SKINNER PRINTING COMPANY
INDUSTRIAL TERMINAL
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

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THE FOURTH ALABAMA INFANTRY: A FIGHTING LEGION

by

Kenneth W. Jones

After their initiation into battle in the summer of 1861, the Fourth Alabama Volunteer Infantry Regiment, Confederate States Army, remained stationed near Bristow Station, just south and east of the Junction at Manassas. Wounded troopers had been sent away for treatment, but the remainder of the regiment settled into a general routine of drilling, watching, and waiting which would carry them through the first year of the war.¹

After Manassas, it was not long before the Fourth was sent to Dumfries, about twenty-five miles below Washington, D. C., on the Potomac River, where they were to provide support for a series of large siege guns, cockpit batteries, which were placed along the banks to interrupt navigation to the enemy capital. And it was there that the Fourth Alabama awaited the beginning of the spring campaigning.

During the several months of inactivity, the regiment elected new officers. Evander McIver Law was chosen regimental colonel through a nearly unanimous vote, a demonstration of both "his popularity, and the high appreciation of his qualities both as a gentleman and brave and gallant officer. Indeed, Col. Law is the *idol* of the 4th Ala."² Captain Thomas J. Goldsby was elected lieutenant colonel; both were men who had distinguished themselves at Manassas.

The new commander of the old Third Brigade, replacing the fallen General Bernard E. Bee, was Brigadier General W. H. C. Whiting. He took charge of a unit which now included the Second and Eleventh Mississippi, the Sixth North Carolina,

¹Details of First Manassas and the activities of the Fourth Alabama may be found in Kenneth W. Jones, "The Fourth Alabama Infantry: First Blood," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1 (Spring, 1974), 35-53.

²James G. Hudson, "A Story of Company D, 4th Alabama Infantry Regiment, C.S.A.," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII, Nos. 1-2 (Spring, 1961), 176.

and the Fourth Alabama regiments. To show their respect, the Fourth collected \$1,000 and purchased a horse for the brigadier. On the day scheduled for the presentation, the whole regiment lined up in the very best uniforms "the Union Army could afford," made up of booty captured earlier that summer. Samuel Moore [Company I, Huntsville North Alabamians] "rode forth the war horse," and Colonel Law gave an address for the men. General Whiting accepted the horse and named it in honor of the Alabama troops.³

In January, 1862, very nearly the entire Fourth regiment re-enlisted for three years' additional service. Original levies had been of short duration, since early expectations were for one short campaign, but it now appeared that the war would last much longer. By the end of March, new recruits were coming in to all the regiments, men on furlough for the winter had returned from home, and the wounded were by now restored to active duty. The Fourth's strength was considerably augmented, and the tempered veterans of the Fourth were prepared to return to the business of making war on the Union.

Initiative was not for the South, however, for the Commander-in-Chief of the Union Army had decided to launch an attack against Richmond. Major General George B. McClellan had his troops assembled in mid-March, loaded onto transport vessels, and carried to Fortress Monroe on the lower Peninsula. By beginning their movement against the Confederate capital so early, the Union stole a march on Southern ambitions.

General Joseph E. Johnston, commanding the Confederate Department of the Potomac, withdrew his soldiers from their camps in the vicinity of Manassas to meet the threat. He re-located south of the Rappahannock River on hearing that McClellan's army, supposedly numbering over 100,000 men, had landed. Johnston's entire command, less one division under Major General Richard Ewell, was put in motion toward Richmond. That the movement was rapid was attested to by one soldier who lamented the loss of his personal luggage in a message home. "Why could they not send back the stuff first & then

³Robert T. Coles [sargeant-major, 4th Alabama Regiment] "History of Fourth Regiment, Alabama Volunteer Infantry, C. S. A., Army of Northern Virginia" (unpublished typescript in Fourth Infantry Regiment files, Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, 1909,) Chapter III, 5.

march? Our Generals are poor retreaters, it seems."⁴

The Federal Army, despite its initial advantage in outmaneuvering Johnston, could not immediately advance on its objective. Confederate Major General John Magruder maintained a defense force on the Peninsula and had built up an earthworks barrier. This restraint was eight miles long and manned with only about seventeen thousand men, but McClellan did not try to pass owing to his mental inertia. When Johnston learned of the hold-up, he hurried his army down the Peninsula, going from Richmond to Yorktown, where he arrived near the end of April, still in time to contest the invasion.

Somehow, perhaps it was his extreme caution, McClellan had presumed the rebel defenses at Yorktown stronger than they actually were, too strong to take in a direct assault. McClellan ordered heavy siege guns dragged into range to blow the dirt away. General Johnston had gained time, and he did not plan to wait on his own destruction; he evacuated Magruder's earthworks.⁵ One private in the Fourth, not yet tried in battle, remarked that he was tired of all the maneuvering without fighting. He would give, he said,

\$17,000 and a mule to get home once more. If it were not my duty to stay here, I would not remain 10 minutes. I would go home abooming. If I could get a transfer to a cavalry company I would be perfectly satisfied. The flying infantry (our Regt.) has been march[ed] all over the state of Virginia for nothing, and I am tired of it. Every time a Yankee would come in 20 miles of our army, our Regt. would be marched out to give him battle, but narry [a] battle. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston with 50,000 men marched down to Yorktown and then marched back again. A distance of 175 miles (in all) which is a very poor joke on us poor privates.⁶

Johnston pulled out of Yorktown on 3 May 1862 with far

⁴Letter, William Robbins to Porter King, 25 March 1862, Smith Papers, Bowling Library, Judson College, Marion, Alabama.

⁵Coles, "History," Chapter IV, 1-3.

⁶Letter, Marius Smith to his sister, 7 May 1862, Smith Papers.

more grace than Cornwallis had left it following his surrender to General Washington. On the 5th, Johnston fought a rear-guard action at Williamsburg, site of Virginia's revolutionary capital. During the retreat, the Fourth Alabama was detached with other elements under Brigadier General John Bell Hood to West Point on York River, there to try to intercept Union Brigadier General William Franklin. That division was attempting to outflank the defense by sailing up the river.

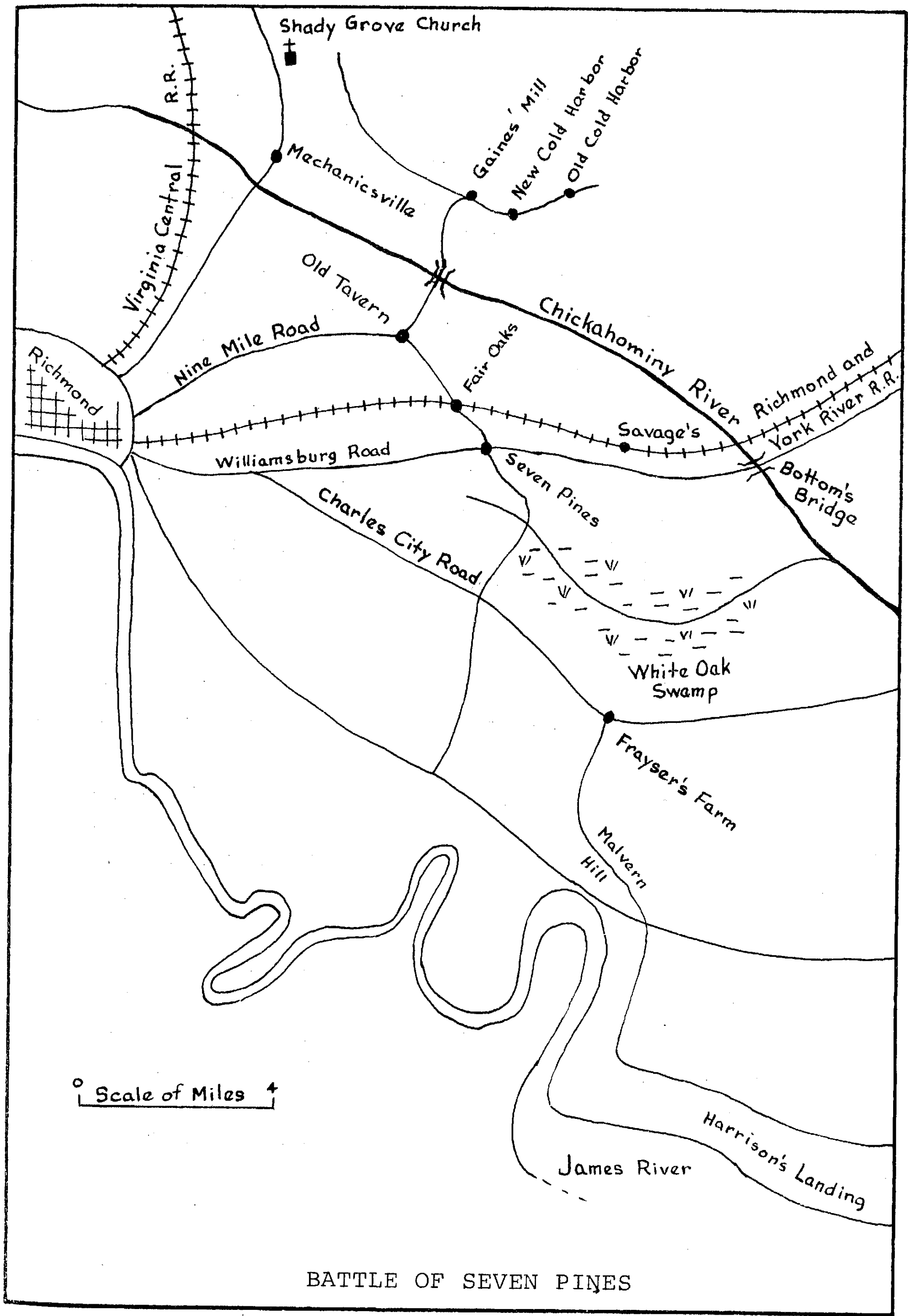
The Alabamians found the going difficult. Rains had produced deep mud which sucked at the marchers' feet, and the men were hungry for lack of rations. They plodded along until late at night when they were finally allowed a few hours to rest. Next day, they found that Franklin had already passed behind their position and was debarking. General Hood advanced a strong skirmish line and with little effort caused the Yankees to fall back. The Fourth Alabama did not come up in time to help in the action, but it was the beginning of a long association with John B. Hood.⁷

After rations were distributed for the day, scouts were deployed to determine Franklin's movements. Orderly Sargeant W. Hartley [Company I] and Private John Cousins [Company A, Selma Governor's Guards] were sent out on the night of the 6th. While wandering through the woods, they suddenly encountered a group of Yankees, only two or three paces to their front. Both groups opened fire, and Sargeant Hartley was killed instantly.⁸

The Fourth remained with Hood's detachment and kept their positions until the main body of retiring Confederate

⁷Coles, "History," Chapter IV, 6-7.

⁸Much has been made of this incident. Robert U. Johnson and Clarence C. Buel, eds., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, II (New York, 1887), 433, illustrate a roll book carried by one of the Yankees with the following caption, "The scars show where a bullet passed through the roll-book and entered the heart of Lieutenant (formerly Orderly-Sargeant) John L. Bailey, who carried the roll-book in his breast-pocket. Lieutenant Bailey was shot by a Confederate picket named W. Hartley, of the 4th Alabama, the night of May 6th, 1862, at West Point on the York River. Hartley was shot and instantly killed by Corporal H. M. Crocker, whose name, the eighth in the list of corporals, was obliterated by the tear and bloodstains." The incident is also described in a letter from Henry M. Crocker to Mr. Robinson [Bailey's cousin], 8 May 1862, Fourth Infantry Regiment file, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.



columns and baggage trains had passed behind them. Then the Fourth Alabama joined the retreat to Richmond and went into camp for three weeks.

General Johnston lost only a few of his supplies by withdrawing up the Peninsula, and he had managed to keep McClellan at bay for several days. He had moved back to keep his flanks clear of navigable water so that Federal troops would not be able to use Virginia's waterways to get behind him. But the Confederate lines were now well placed, and General Johnston intended to hold them. His army, numbering approximately 74,000 men with reinforcements, should be able to check any Union advance up the James or the York Rivers. Johnston selected a small crossroads near the Chickahominy River called Seven Pines for his major defensive effort. He later pulled back toward Richmond, but only because sufficient drinking water at Seven Pines was lacking; and the retrograde movement was only slight. These positions remained unchanged to the end of May while the anxiety of the waiting troops was increasing.⁹

On the 23rd of the month, Brigadier General Erasmus Keyes' Union IV Corps crossed the Chickahominy near Bottoms Bridge. Keyes left a division to hold the bridge and posted his other units in front. The advance put the Yankees in control over all the existing bridges across the river, and they began to build others. On the 27th, Keyes advanced again. He crossed Williamsburg Road, and he occupied Seven Pines.

That McClellan's army was crossing the river against Richmond was worrisome enough, but when news reached army headquarters that Major General Irvin McDowell and 40,000 more Yankees were marching from the Shenandoah Valley to join McClellan, the Confederates had to act, quickly. Johnston planned to attack before McDowell could swell the forces already moving against him, but later word reported that McDowell had returned to his original position. For Johnston, this was a rare opportunity, and he would not allow it to pass him by.

McClellan's army, though large, was operating alone; it was spread out, and reinforcements had been at least tempo-

⁹Joseph E. Johnston, "Manassas to Seven Pines," *Battles and Leaders*, II, 204-208.

rarily denied it. Armed Confederate reconnaissance patrols went out on the morning of 30 May, and they discovered Keyes' outposts advanced to the west of Seven Pines. The presence of this unit indicated that McClellan had divided his troops along the Chickahominy. Johnston had hoped for this development, and he distributed orders to take advantage of it.

Southern regiments were deployed so that twenty-two brigades under Major General James Longstreet would be concentrated against Keyes' exposed position. The rest of Johnston's army, six brigades under Major General Gustavus Smith, were to demonstrate and prevent McClellan from crossing the river.¹⁰

Seven Pines could be reached from Richmond by two major roads. More direct was the Williamsburg Road, and Johnston ordered Major General D. H. Hill, of Longstreet's command, to move along it. A more leisurely route, the Nine Mile Road, curved around from the north, and Longstreet was ordered to make his approach this way. There was a third division, under Major General Benjamin Huger, which was ordered to travel along Charles City Road, even though it approached Seven Pines only through the treacherous White Oak Swamp. The Fourth Alabama, a part of Whiting's Brigade, among those commanded by General Smith, was ordered along Nine Mile Road, after Longstreet has passed. However, while they would be available to the general if needed, their task was to halt at the junction with New Bridge Road and prevent Union reinforcements crossing the Chickahominy.¹¹

Confederate assault brigades were supposed to move out before daylight on 31 May, but they were dogged with bad luck and timing from the beginning. Torrential rains had wet the area during the night, completely flooding the countryside. To make matters worse, the commanders apparently misunderstood their orders and got their brigades so tangled up on the roads that the attack, when it came, was several hours late and ineffective.

¹⁰Johnston, "Manassas to Seven Pines," 210-211; and Gustavus Smith, "Two Days of Battle at Seven Pines," *Battles and Leaders*, II, 223-224.

¹¹Smith, "Two Days of Battle," 225-230.

At dawn, Longstreet's and Huger's divisions were both stalled on the Williamsburg Road, intermingled with Hill's command. Longstreet was the ranking officer present, yet he refused to allow Hill's units to march first, even though they constituted the first wave of the assault troops. Longstreet also insisted in preceding Huger's command across a swollen torrent called Gilies Creek. The delay represented literally hours, and when at 1 PM the signal gun sounded for the attack, few men were in a position to respond.¹² Those units that were able to attack belonged to D. H. Hill's scattered force. They advanced, but alone; what they lacked in numbers they made up in aggressiveness, forcing Keyes' lines to fall back to Seven Pines. Union resistance stiffened at the cross-roads, but Hill's Confederates were undeterred. They rolled up the enemy along Williamsburg Road and pushed them back to Savage's Station or into the morass of White Oak Swamp. And when Longstreet and Huger came up at dusk, their fresh troops formed a strong line between Hill and Fair Oaks Station.¹³

Earlier that day, while Longstreet was sorting out his brigades, the Fourth Alabama was ready to move along their assigned route by 6 AM. They had been marched out of Richmond the preceding evening and had bivouaced among some oak trees, catching what sleep they might in the soaking rain. The mass confusion of intermingled troops prevented them from advancing into position. They remained for hours, standing. Whiting at one point asked General Smith to intervene, but his scouts could not locate Longstreet on Nine Mile Road. Not until late in the morning was the Fourth Alabama located along the Chickahominy Bluffs, as required.¹⁴

Troops along the Nine Mile Road suffered from the anxiety of a battle which refused to happen. The Fourth did not even learn that Hill was engaged until 4 PM, three hours after the battle had begun. And when General Johnston himself ordered them to advance toward Seven Pines, the Yankees had already been driven off. The road was still sodden from the rains, and all that could be seen was a deserted Yankee

¹²Johnston, "Manassas to Seven Pines," 213.

¹³Smith, "Two Days of Battle," 242.

¹⁴Smith, "Two Days of Battle," 244.

camp, tents still erect. When General Whiting reached Fair Oaks Station, he hesitated to move across the roadbed because some Union soldiers had been seen threatening his left and rear. They then opened fire with an artillery barrage, and the longed-for battle was on.¹⁵

It was growing darker as the two sides closed upon one another. The Fourth Alabama took cover rapidly after the first cannon fire, and the bluecoated enemy charged. A lively fire-fight began, but the Yankees retired after only a few minutes. During their advance along Nine Mile Road, men in the Fourth noticed that General Johnston had ridden up to survey the results of his planning. He was standing on his horse when he was disabled by an artillery shell. Johnston was relieved immediately by General Smith who commanded through the rest of the day. In the lower eschelons, Whiting took over for Smith in command of the division, and Colonel Law took over command of the Third Brigade.

Nightfall ended the battle. Whiting's new command was still in a battle line facing east, about five hundred yards away from Fair Oaks Station, with their right on the rails and their left extending into the woods across Nine Mile Road. From this position, some semblance of a battle resumed the following morning, but only a small portion of each army was involved.¹⁶

Confederate General Johnston's original plan, that is, to contain Union forces on the far side of the Chickahominy while Longstreet's main attack destroyed Keyes' corps isolated on the near side, might well have worked to perfection. However, too much depended on Longstreet, and he took the wrong route. By doing so, he delayed both D. H. Hill and Huger. The coordinated assault was launched by Hill alone. Furthermore, Hill unassisted could not advance far enough to crush Keyes. General Whiting, now commanding Smith's Division at Old Tavern, was to either repel a Union advance across the river or to aid Longstreet; when he was finally able to move to the support of that general, he was struck in the flank by a Union advance over the river.

¹⁵ Johnston, "Manassas to Seven Pines," 214.

¹⁶ Johnston, "Manassas to Seven Pines," 215; and Smith "Two Days of Battle," 245.

Union and Confederate positions after Seven Pines remained basically unchanged, so the South gained very little, except perhaps time to rest. The battle had been a show for residents of the capital, and they had lined the rooftops of Richmond to watch for puffs of smoke from artillery bursts. They really could not tell much of the battle until evening when the wounded began to come in; they then responded enthusiastically to prepare various public buildings to serve as hospitals. The townsfolk, especially the ladies, "were particularly busy and went from house to house performing acts of mercy — many of them carrying clothes, bandages, food and icewater until late in the night. . . ." ¹⁷

Seven Pines did produce one major change, in the leadership of the Confederate troops. Johnston had been wounded and could not continue his leadership. General Smith, his temporary replacement, was in poor physical condition. Therefore, on 1 June 1862, General Robert E. Lee was appointed to head the Army of Northern Virginia. He set about at once filling gaps left by battle casualties. Lee was unsure of Whiting's capacity but allowed him to continue as commander of Smith's division. Lee gave Whiting's (Bee's Third) Brigade to its senior regimental colonel, Evander McIver Law of the Fourth Alabama. And within the regiment, lieutenant colonel O. K. McLemore rose to command. ¹⁸

For the next several days, General Lee planned the best move against McClellan. A man of action, Lee had sought vital information about the disposition of northern troops from General J. E. B. Stuart, whose cavalry rode entirely around McClellan's army collecting data. Stuart found that the enemy had been shifted south of the Chickahominy except for one corps under Brigadier General FitzJohn Porter. Lee saw an opportunity for the Confederates to regain the initiative and sent General Stonewall Jackson's division to attack Porter's isolated position from the Shenandoah Valley.

In the camp of the Fourth Alabama, rumors began to circulate that Whiting's division would soon be sent to Jackson

¹⁷"The Battle of Saturday. Richmond, June 2d. 1862," News clipping, Fourth Infantry Regiment file.

¹⁸Douglas S. Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, I (New York, 1946), 270-271, 275-302.

in the Valley. Confirmation came on 12 June when the Fourth boarded a train at Richmond, bound for Charlottesville. They remained there for two days before departing for Staunton where on 17 June they united with the main body of Jackson's corps. One week earlier, Jackson had thwarted a Yankee attempt to entrap him at Cross Keys and Port Republic, and his command was in high spirits. When Whiting's men joined him, Jackson detached his cavalry to screen his movements from Union spies, and he set his men in motion. Northern leaders were left nervously contemplating where he might strike; they particularly feared an attack against their capital.

Jackson set off toward Richmond, marching for two days along the tracks of the Virginia Central Railroad. On the 19th, the army boarded the train for Frederickshall. By the 22nd, Sunday, the Fourth Alabama was camped along the tracks, spending the day attending divine services, cooking, and resting.¹⁹

Early on Monday, the columns moved out once more. Jackson left the march to meet personally with Lee in Richmond, and then he rejoined his corps. It was moving slowly and was greatly spread out. By the 25th, Jackson led his men into Ashland Station, within striking distance of Porter's position on the Chickahominy. Next day, the column wound out of Ashland on a course parallel to the river. Whiting's Division was in the lead, and the men of the Fourth Alabama spent their time forcing away inquisitive enemy cavalry patrols and pickets.

When they came to Totopotomoy Creek, late in the day, Whiting's men found the crossing partially destroyed. It was rebuilt easily, but further rapid progress was stalled by trees which had been felled across the roadway. The troops had to bivouac at Hundley Corners, where artillery fire and the clash

¹⁹Coles, "History," Chapter V, 1-2; Mordecai M. Cooke, "Reminiscences of the Fourth Alabama," [Marion] *Commonwealth*, 10 January 1867, news clipping, Fourth Infantry Regiment files, Alabama Archives. Interestingly enough, the latter source states that the army "halted" there while Jackson held a personal conference with General Lee. In any case, when Jackson returned, the march was going slowly owing to rains and mud. Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, I, 498-499, observes that "in the few records of the day, there is not a hint that a single commander, Jackson included, regarded the delay as serious."

of battle was painfully audible. The battle had begun without them. The idea had been to have Longstreet, A. P. Hill, and D. H. Hill initiate an attack against General Porter at the same time that Jackson arrived at Mechanicsville. However, A. P. Hill had given up on Jackson ever arriving and had attacked alone. He was repelled with heavy losses.²⁰

Early on 27 June, Jackson continued his movement toward McClellan's exposed right flank. Again, the march was hindered by felled trees, and the Fourth was assigned to clear the route once more. On one occasion, a well-equipped Yankee ambulance came lumbering up the road to ask the identity of the troops. Hungry Confederates swarmed onto the wagon searching for food. The driver was brusquely informed of his error, and the wagon was quickly relieved of its supplies.²¹ Later, when the road was cleared, heavy fighting commenced nearby, and the Alabama regiment was ordered forward at double-time. Before reaching the field, the regiment lay to for a brief prayer, and then they proceeded into the fray.

In the assault against Porter, the Battle of Gaines' Mill, Whiting's Division occupied the right of Jackson's line. From the division's center to a swamp on their right flank, the ground was open; to the left there were thick woods. Colonel Law positioned his brigade in these woods, in two lines; the Fourth Alabama occupied the first. Hood's Brigade was placed along the left in similar fashion. The Confederate lines advanced; A. P. Hill's men were lying behind a gentle ridge paralleling the Yankee emplacements. Southern troops were abandoning the field in some cases, and there was much disorder.

Porter's men were strongly placed on a steep bluff. At the base, the enemy line occupied a narrow gully. Up the slope, barricaded behind an abatis of timber, was a second line; and on top of the plateau and protected by several artillery pieces was a third rank of bluecoats. This artillery was "industriously employed in throwing grape shot into our ranks, mowing the men down rapidly," according to a trooper identified only as

²⁰Coles, "History," Chapter V, 3; Cooke, "Reminiscences."

²¹An illustrated account is found in *Battles and Leaders*, II, 358, of the same or a similar episode.

'B' [Company B, Tuskegee Zouaves, Fourth Alabama Regiment.]²²

It was getting on toward evening, about 4:30 PM, when Whiting joined the attack. The battle was already two hours old and not making progress. Both the Hill's were heavily engaged as Whiting arranged his lines. The order was given for a double-quick advance, with arms trailed. There was no immediate firing from the Southerners, and the effects were awesome. As the division pressed on, the ugly, marshy ground on the right flank caused Law's Brigade to oblique left around a ravine. Yankee artillery continued to pound, and when the double line topped the slope, Whiting waved his hat for the charge. The whole division broke into a trot toward the Yankee works and began to shout the rebel battle cry, screaming at the tops of their lungs. It was too much for the Yankees to take, and when the Confederates were within thirty yards of the gully at the bottom of the bluff, they turned tail and fled up the hill.

Whiting's men leaped the ravine, firing in volleys and continuing up the slope, driving Porter's men before them. On top of the plateau, the Southerners drove away the defenders, broke Porter's line in two, and captured fourteen artillery pieces. Porter attempted a cavalry charge, but it was repulsed. Victory rewarded the South that day with the capture of about eight hundred prisoners.²³

Gaines' Mill was a Confederate win, but it was not impressive and costly. Porter had not been crushed, and about thirty-five percent of those engaged, approximately one thousand men, were rebel casualties. The heaviest attrition came in three regiments: the Fourth Texas, the Eleventh Mississippi, and the Fourth Alabama; the latter two regiments were members of Bee's old Brigade, all were in Whiting's Division, and all participated in the hillside charge. No immediate pursuit of Porter could be accomplished, and the Chickahominy bridges had been destroyed in any case, so the 28th of June was spent

²²Letter, "B" to his brother, 3 July 1862, Fourth Infantry Regiment file; Coles, "History," Chapter V, 4-6; and Cooke, "Reminiscences."

²³Letter, "B" to his brother; W. H. C. Whiting, "Report of Br. Gen. W. H. C. Whiting, July, 1862," *Official Records of the Civil War*, Series I, Vol. XI, Part 2, p. 562; and Cooke, "Reminiscences."

in caring for the wounded, burying the dead, and repairing bridges. Colonel O. K. McLemore, commanding the Fourth, had received a painful wound in battle, and command of the regiment fell to Captain L. H. Scruggs. Total losses to the Alabamians were 132 soldiers, killed or wounded.²⁴

Not until Monday following Gaines' Mill was the advance against McClellan's right flank resumed. When the Chickahominy was crossed, signs of a retreating enemy were everywhere visible in scattered debris. The departure had been hurried. Jackson's corps crossed York River Railroad, Whiting's Division in the lead. They marched up Williamsburg Road to White Oak Bridge Fork where they arrived about noon. Artillery was unlimbered to silence Yankee cannon, but random fire from the enemy prevented much movement. Sounds of battle were heard almost everywhere, the engagement of "Longstreet's bloody dance at Frazer's Farm." Next day, the bridge was crossed, and Jackson ordered an advance without skirmishers. In column, his regiments drew up in front of Crew's Farm at 11 AM where the Yankees had again posted their cannon. Artillery sounded as the rebels came within range, and their own return fire was ineffective. Law's Brigade did as much as they were able, extending their lines across a wheat field where they lay down to wait on the order to charge. A forward movement did begin along the Confederate right, but Law's men were contained where they were, enduring the shelling. As night fell, they moved to their right, and the enemy withdrew. There had been no chance to open with musket fire, and the Fourth Alabama suffered another fifteen casualties.²⁵

Following these so-called Seven Days' Battles, Union leaders were most anxious than ever to crush the Confederacy. They proceeded to organize their own Army of Virginia, and since the state had been stripped of rebel troops in the Shenandoah Valley when Jackson's corps had pulled out, the Yankees were

²⁴Coles, "History," Chapter V, 4-6; Cooke, "Reminiscences;" and Whiting, "Report, July, 1862," 562.

²⁵Whiting, "Report, July, 1862," 562. D. H. Hill, in "McClellan's Change of Base and Malvern Hill," *Battles and Leaders*, II, 392, states that Whiting was ordered to the left of Quaker (or Willis Church) Road as the battle began. However, Whiting and other troops did not sustain heavy fire, nor did they come out of the woods. They received no orders.

somewhat successful in controlling the area north of Richmond. In the early part of July, Union soldiers under John Pope advanced against Culpeper Courthouse. Lee sent Jackson to meet this threat to his flanks, with two divisions. Jackson remained near Gordonsville until he was reinforced in August, and then he took his corps across the Rapidan, engaging and defeating General Nathaniel P. Banks' Division of the Army of Virginia. Jackson then returned to Gordonsville.

During the Seven Days, McClellan had pulled his army south to Harrison's Landing, on the York River, and there he stayed until called to return to Washington. With the enemy finally gone, Lee moved his own army out of Richmond. The Fourth Alabama, among the first units to leave the capital, joined Jackson at Gordonsville. The Fourth had been stationed near the Confederate capital for over three months, and they were becoming "anxious to be out and agoing." Time had hung heavy around their necks even despite the anxiety of the two major fights they were in earlier. Diseases swept through the camp periodically, and rations were often short. Nervous, frayed tempers produced quarrels over trivial things, and it was far preferable to vent such feelings against the Yanks.²⁶

Longstreet's corps was the first in Lee's army to reach the Rapidan, where on 20 August they found Jackson waiting. Lee himself crossed the river, hurrying to Culpeper Courthouse. Federal forces belonging to Pope were concentrating there, hoping for reinforcements from McClellan. When they did not come, Pope retreated rather than fight. Jackson pursued, and Hood's two brigades formed a vangard in the chase.²⁷

The Fourth Alabama was moving along the southern bank of the Rappahannock River toward Freeman's Ford on the 22nd of August, hoping to relieve Brigadier General Isaac Trimble's Brigade [Jackson's command] which had become en-

²⁶Coles, "History," Chapter VI, 1-2.

²⁷What became of Whiting as commander of the division is not clearly shown. Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, I, 64, and II, 673, notes that the division was under the direct control of Lee before the Second Manassas campaign began, but that Whiting, "it would appear, was on sick leave at the time." His old Third Brigade was by now commanded by Col. E. M. Law, and the division was at least temporarily under the command of John Bell Hood. "Soon it became known as Hood's."

gaged with Union forces. General Hood, responding to a plea for aid, placed Law's Brigade on Trimble's left, and his own Texas Brigade on the right. The three brigades, now a single unit, charged and "drove the enemy pell mell into the swollen stream, killing, drowning, and capturing several with small loss."²⁸

Following this encounter at the ford, Hood's Division continued its course toward Waterloo Ford to assist A. P. Hill. General Jackson was trying to get around Pope's right flank, and on the 26th, Hood crossed over the Rappahannock and followed Pope on the left. There was some skirmishing, and it was not until the evening of the next day that Hood could bivouac, near White Plains, in front of Thoroughfare Gap in the Bull Run Mountains.²⁹

Colonel Law's Brigade was leading Hood's Division as they reached the Gap on the morning of the 28th. Once there, they learned that General D. R. Jones' Division had been repulsed by a strong Federal defense force which held the Gap. General Hood located a local resident who agreed to guide Law's Brigade along a trail which crossed the mountains a short distance above the Gap. It was decided that Hood would follow Law with his own Brigade later on.

Law, following the scout, turned off the main road to the left and began the ascent up a poorly marked pathway. About half-way up, either the trail disappeared or the guide missed it, and he was dismissed. Law struck out through the underbrush, woods, and rocks. When the column arrived at the crest, they found the way blocked by a natural wall of rock. Scouts were dispatched to locate a passage through, and they found a narrow crevice which would admit individuals, single-file, "the first one being lifted up by those behind, and each man as he got up lending a hand to the next."³⁰

At the summit, Law could hear artillery from the direction of Manassas. The sounds recalled the grand battle of

²⁸Coles, "History," Chapter VI, 4; and John B. Hood, "Report of Brigadier General John B. Hood, 27 September 1862," *Official Records*, Vol. XII, Part 2, p. 605.

²⁹Coles, "History," Chapter VI, 5, 7; and Hood, "Report, 27 September 1862," 605.

³⁰E. M. Law, "The Time of Longstreet's Arrival at Groveton," *Battles and Leaders*, II, 527.

the previous summer where the Fourth had been isolated, holding their own against the Yankees. "The sound of each gun was a call for help, and the progress of the men, one by one, across the rocky barrier seemed painfully slow."³¹ Speeded by the explosions, the men surmounted the scarp, established a skirmish line, and began to descend the gentler slopes of the opposite side.

Federal batteries in the Gap were firing "steadily but leisurely, and seemed as if they were there to stay."³² The whole brigade had crossed, and snipers began to press the flanks of the Yankee batteries, half a mile off. As Law descended, skirmishers engaged enemy pickets guarding the batteries. The cannon retreated, and at this juncture, Hood ordered Law to withdraw. Hood had seen the enemy retire, and he did not know Law was over the mountain. General Law did not wish to curtail pursuit, but he had no choice but to move back through the crevice and camp for the night.³³

At first light of dawn, the troops resumed their march toward Manassas, Hood's Division in the lead. Riflemen harried the Federal rearguard, and when the column emerged at Gainesville, they found Jackson engaged with the enemy.

Hood continued rapidly down Warrenton Turnpike and formed a battle line at 10 AM mid-way between Gainesville and the Stone House. General Jackson's position was along an unfinished railroad bed, and Union troops were moving around his right flank by the time Hood arrived. Law's Brigade formed across the pike at right angles to the road; the Fourth Alabama was on the left, and the Texans were to the right. These troops pressed forward until they cleared Jackson's flank. There, on a ridge west of Groveton, Hood's Division formed an extension of Jackson's line to the right while both armies paused to consolidate themselves. Everyone was relishing thoughts of a second victory near Manassas Junction.³⁴

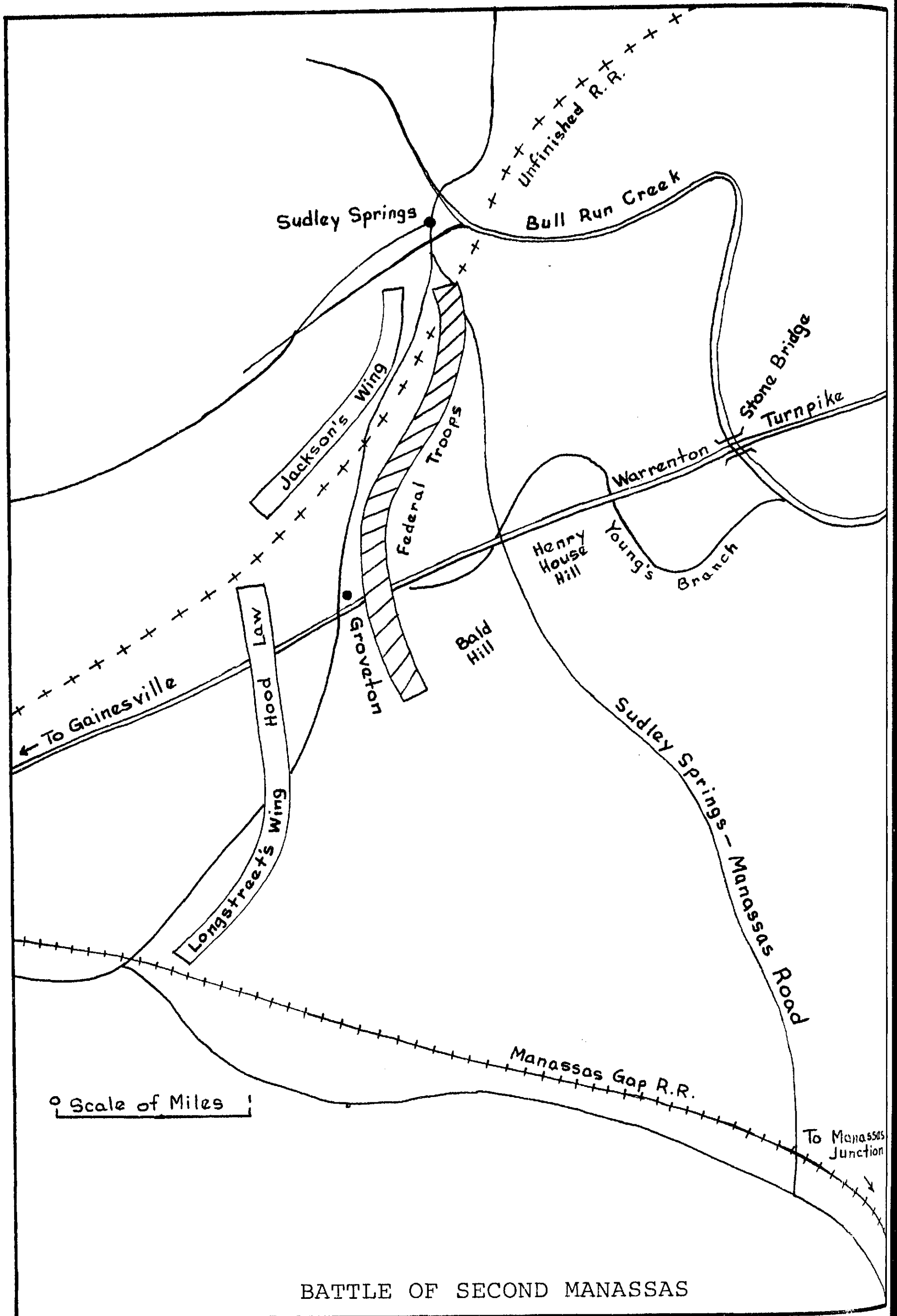
Opposing armies engaged each other again at about 4 PM

³¹Law, "Longstreet's Arrival," 527.

³²Law, "Longstreet's Arrival," 527.

³³Law, "Longstreet's Arrival," 527-528.

³⁴Law, "Longstreet's Arrival," 528; Coles, "History," Chapter VI, 7-10; and Hood, "Report, 27 September 1862," 605.



when general firing commenced. A heavy Union assault against Jackson failed, and by 6 PM, Hood issued orders for Law to charge. The Fourth Alabama, under heavy artillery fire from the opposite slopes, moved in against the enemy cannon so close that several men were burned when the cannon discharged. Most of the Yankee pieces were withdrawn before they could be captured, but the Fourth did take one howitzer along with several prisoners. Only the approach of dark stilled the violent action.

Colonel Law's Brigade had reached a point about half a mile in front of their original position along the pike. They remained at this point from nightfall until midnight when they were ordered to reform with Jackson. As he received reinforcements, Jackson's lines were being extended along the right toward Bull Run Creek below the now famous Stone Bridge.

As morning broke, the Southerners were awakened by intermittent rifle fire and bursts of heavy artillery. The irksome non-action continued for most of the day, and not until late in the afternoon did the Federals launch a vigorous, forceful assault against Jackson's strengthened position.

The Fourth Alabama was stationed near the center of the enemy drive, at a point where Jackson's right and left wings angled off from one another. From their vantage point, the Alabamians witnessed as grand and beautiful a panorama of a battle scene that they had seen in the war. Bluecoated ranks moved out of the woods into an open field to Jackson's front. The rebels, in the railroad cut, held their fire until the Yanks were within close range. Then they fired. Deafening, repeated volleys took bloody effect, forcing the enemy to retire in confusion. Others of their columns advanced, only to be hurled back as Jackson's men fired again and again, until their shells were exhausted. From the angle, where the Fourth was observing the progress of the battle, it seemed to be an ideal fight, "and the only one of any magnitude in which the 4th Alabama was merely a spectator."³⁵

However, the Fourth did not wait long. Jackson was calling for additional troops, and Longstreet was almost in posi-

³⁵Coles, "History," Chapter VI, 11-17.

tion. That leader did not hurry into battle. He coolly placed cannon along his left and raked the Union flank in a vicious cross-fire. Then, Longstreet threw his wing at the Federals. "As if by intuition, at the same instant, both wings [Longstreet, then Jackson] rushed forward in one of the grandest charges on record." Hood's Division, with the Fourth, led the charge. This division was probably pivotal to Longstreet's advance and outdistanced other units in line with it. Hood's Texans were heavily engaged but managed to capture an artillery piece. Law's Brigade, to the left, advanced to Groveton in support of a battery there. The Brigade spent half an hour, under heavy fire, and then crossed the pike to the south. Law could not find the Texas Brigade, but he spied Yankees in a ravine to the front and below Dogan's House. He sent three of his regiments toward them, placing them in pine thickets. While there, the Yankees attempted to retake the house, but they were repulsed by the unified line of the Fourth Alabama and the Sixth North Carolina. Law then succeeded in reuniting his command. He captured a few prisoners while advancing beyond Dogan's House. While Hood placed his brigades on the heights of Bald Hill, a new advance swept the field clear of enemy forces near Sudley Ford Road.³⁶

On Sunday, 31 August 1862, there was no fighting. The troops spent the day caring for their wounded and burying their dead; otherwise they tried to regain their strength through sleep. Better rations were available for the army than at any time since they had left Richmond, but the sense of taste was probably dulled by the chilly drizzle which fell throughout the day. It was a reminder that the Fourth Alabama suffered twenty killed and another forty-three wounded. Law's Brigade had a total of 320 casualties.

General Lee intended to follow after Pope's now fleeing army, and on the 1st of September, Southern columns resumed their march across Bull Run Creek. Stonewall Jackson and his corps had departed earlier in the vain hope of stalling the enemy until Lee caught up to him. The rain continued to fall, however, and "every man [was] in sad plight, cold and wet to the skin."³⁷

³⁶Coles, "History," Chapter VI, 16-18; Hood, "Report, 27 September 1862," 605-606; and E. M. Law, "Report of Colonel E. M. Law, 10 September 1862," *Official Records*, Vol. XII, Part 2, 622-625.

³⁷Coles, "History," Chapter VII, 4.

Pope had gone too far and too fast to be stopped, so Lee turned his line of march toward Leesburg, crossed the Potomac on the 6th, and continued north to Frederick City, Maryland. Local inhabitants were divided in their sentiments, and many were loyal Southerners. The Confederate army had hoped to be able to obtain new recruits, but the Fourth could detect no particular excitement over their arrival. Rumors that Lee would be out for a draft had caused most of the available military prospects to find excuses to be elsewhere. "There was no flocking to our standards by any means," and the Alabamians were only able to find one willing volunteer. While this recruit turned out to be a valuable addition to the Fourth, the whole Maryland adventure turned out to be disagreeable and unsatisfactory. "We of the [Fourth Alabama] had full consciousness of having accomplished all that could be done, but the equipment and numbers were wanting to have made a successful issue of the campaign."³⁸ Furthermore, worrisome news suggested that McClellan's new and even more powerful army had departed Washington and was hard on the rebel trail.

Lee's line of communications across the Potomac was not secure even without the approach of McClellan's force. Lee, however, was an audacious commander; despite great risk, the general split his already outnumbered army and sent Jackson south of the river to capture Union garrisons at Harper's Ferry. The Fourth Alabama was camped at Hagerstown waiting developments until the 14th when new orders put away their anxiety. The Fourth was ordered to prepare their rations as quickly as possible, to retire to Turner's Gap, and there to assist D. H. Hill who was holding the pass against the appearance of the Union van.

In fact, Lee had thinned his army dangerously; it was spread from Harper's Ferry to Hagerstown. An informed enemy, which McClellan usually was not, would place the Confederates in crisis. On this occasion, an order from General Lee to his field commanders had come into McClellan's hands; the latter was suddenly apprised of Lee's exact position. It had thus become imperative for D. H. Hill to hold Turner's Gap so that Lee would have time to regroup his forces. It was in this light that Hood's Division, with the Fourth Ala-

³⁸Coles, "History," Chapter VII, 4.

bama, was ordered to hurry to Hill's aid, a march of about a dozen miles "which taxed to the utmost the energies of every man in the regiment." The Alabamians did not come up to Hill until late in the afternoon, and they found that division engaged against overwhelming odds, losing ground. It was the battle of South Mountain.³⁹

Hood's Division went into position to the left of the pike through the Gap. Brigadier General Thomas F. Drayton claimed that his brigade was outnumbered, so Hood switched to his right, moving through an orchard which was sprouting among the boulders of the mountainside. Hood ordered his Texans and Law's Brigade to move forward with fixed bayonets. The rush of wild troopers, with the sun glinting off their bayonets unnerved the Yankees who fled back through the Gap, much quicker than they had come through earlier; by dark, they had recovered their lost ground.⁴⁰

With nightfall, the Fourth Alabama took cover in a sunken roadway running across the Gap; the Federals kept firing at them through a fence line some distance off. A laurel thicket behind the weary regiment made weird sounds whenever a Yankee bullet passed through, and the noises jangled their already taut nerves. The regiment's ammunition was nearly exhausted, so the Fourth fired back only intermittently. Finally, the Yanks stopped shooting, and the Alabama troops were not bothered any more by enemy rifles.

³⁹The circumstances surrounding the loss of the order and the placement of ultimate responsibility for the error are carefully examined by Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, II, 715-723. The Fourth Alabama was immediately affected: "this sudden and unexpected retrograde movement on the part of the 4th Alabama was the direct cause of the loss of a copy of Confidential Special Order No. 191, issued by General Lee to each of his divisional commanders at Frederick City during our stop there on September 9th: It was said to have been picked up, wrapped around three cigars by a Union soldier in the camp at Frederick City, but recently vacated by General D. H. Hill, and handed to General McClellan on the night of the 13th. General McClellan, who had been advancing cautiously and timidly, with 97,000 men against our force of only 45,000, only eight or nine miles a day, in the direction of Frederick City, from Washington, as soon as apprised of the genuineness of his find, 'immediately gave orders for a rapid and vigorous forward movement.' " Coles, Chapter VII, 5-6.

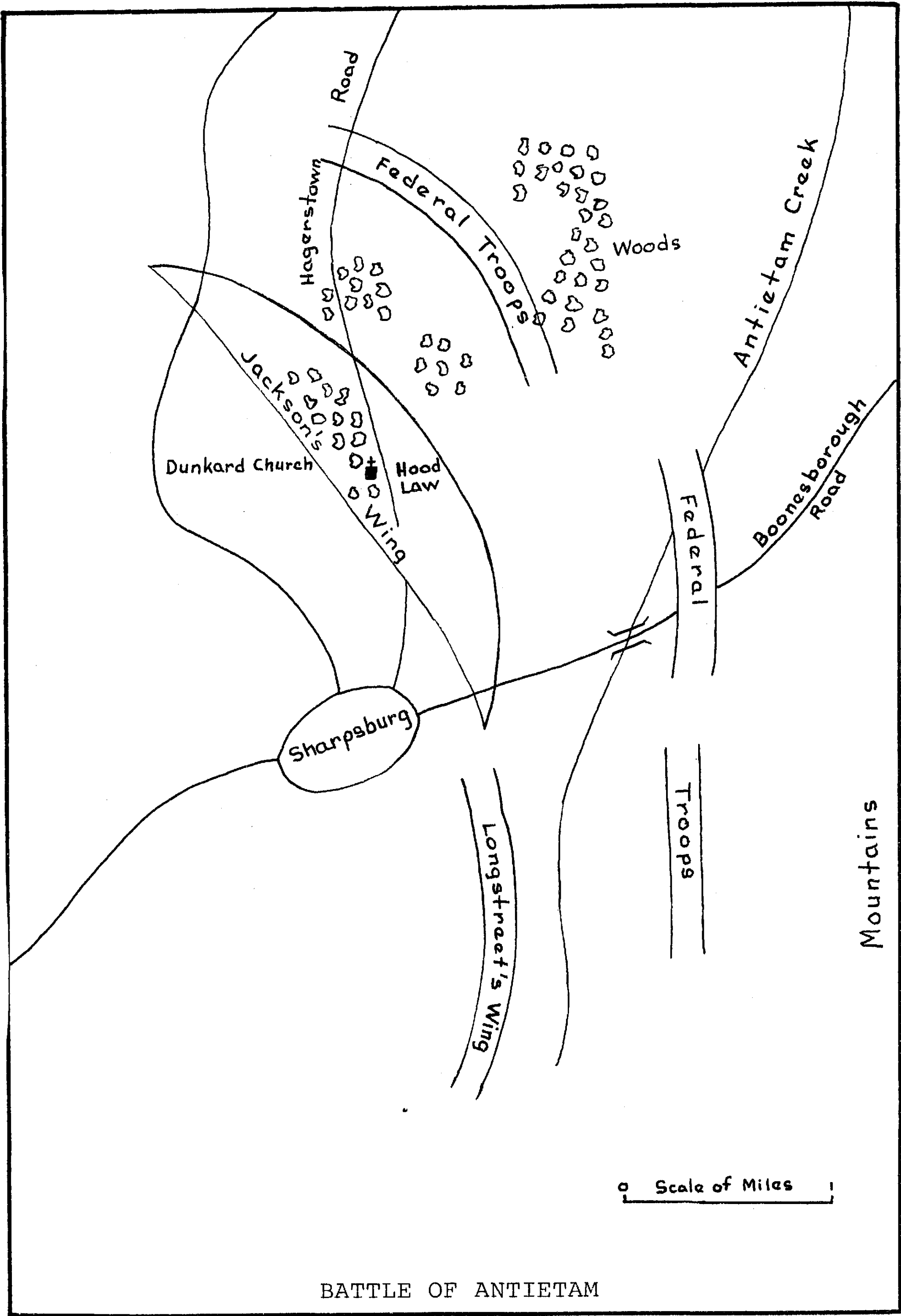
⁴⁰John B. Hood, "Hood's Report of Boonesborough and Sharpsburg, 27 September 1862," *Official Records*, Vol. XIX Part 1, 922; and Coles, "History," Chapter VII, 6-9.

Sometime after midnight, the order was given to withdraw. Federal strength was too great to be contained, and General Lee decided to move into defensive positions around the village of Sharpsburg. Darkness made the retreat difficult; the Fourth proceeded single-file down the main road, half asleep. They walked toward Sharpsburg to regroup. It took most of the remaining darkness, but morning found Hood's Division drawn into a battle line on the right side of the pike. However, as Lee's defense was weak near Dunkard, or St. Mumma's, Church, Hood was very soon moved to that area. Law's Brigade was placed between the church on the right along the pike toward Hagerstown, and a woods to the southwest. Directly to his front was an open field.⁴¹

On the 16th of September, in the late evening, Union skirmishers advanced toward the positions occupied by Hood's Division, to feel out the defense. They were repulsed, and Law's and the Texas Brigades were advanced into the woods where the skirmishers had emerged. They occupied it without difficulty. By about 9 PM, the Fourth Alabama was moved again, farther to their right and into the open field they had faced earlier. It was plowed up and surrounded by a rail fence; the regiment was extended beyond their own lines on outpost duty, and it was an uncomfortable position. Union artillery caissons squealed all night long as they were moved into place against the Confederate lines; a cold mist was falling, and after an hour or so, a Union column was heard near the fence line. Captain Scruggs yelled for the regiment to open fire, and the Yankees retreated into the darkness.

Calmness restored, the officers tried valiantly to keep their men from sleeping. Since they had been awake and fighting for two days, it was an impossible task. R. T. Coles went out to see if he could find a regiment that could replace the Fourth on the line, but within a short while, units which had arrived with General Jackson came to relieve Hood's entire division, the only one which had been fighting on the 16th. The men were ordered into bivouac behind the Dunkard Church.

⁴¹Hood, "Boonesborough and Sharpsburg," 922-923; E. M. Law, "Report of Colonel E. M. Law, 4th Alabama, Commanding Brigade at Battle of Sharpsburg," *Official Records*, Vol. XIX, Part 1, 937; and James Longstreet, "The Invasion of Maryland," *Battles and Leaders*, II, 663-674.



By now, it was almost three days that the division had been without rations, excepting some beef and green corn, and they gratefully accepted and cooked new supplies which were found for them before dawn.⁴²

McClellan began his general assault in the Battle of Antietam against the Confederate left wing [General Jackson] at about 3 AM, the first glow of light. Artillery bursts lighted the sky with awful red flashes. The Yanks advanced and scattered the forces of D. R. Jones and Brigadier General Alexander Lawton. By 6 AM, Hood's men had to return to the maelstrom that was brewing along the front lines. Hood delivered a savage counter-attack, with Law's and the Texas Brigades leading the way. Law found precious few rebel troops to rally, and a great confusion, but he also found the scattered forces bitterly determined to resist the onslaught. With his battle lines to the north, Law ordered an advance which drove the enemy before it. The Fourth Alabama and the Fifth Texas plunged into the woods which had been occupied by the previous day's skirmishers and cleared it of the enemy.⁴³

Sometime after 9 in the morning, Hood's Division began to exhaust their ammunition once more, and the furious fighting had seriously reduced their numbers. Fresh Union regiments were being thrown into the assault, and no Confederate reinforcements were in sight. Law had to hasten his men back through the woods. While his retreat offered the Yankees an opportunity, they did not follow it up, despite their superior numbers. The extra time gave Law time to reform behind Dunkard Church, and additional Southern troops arrived in place. Law's Brigade was relieved around 10 AM to secure ammunition. Within a couple of hours, Hood's Division returned to the rear of the church, holding their ground during the remainder of the afternoon. They were still under artillery fire, but it was not until later that they were allowed to retire to Sharpsburg.⁴⁴

By nightfall, Lee's entire army was disengaging and recrossing the Potomac to the Virginia side. The Fourth Ala-

⁴²Coles, "History," Chapter VII, 9-13; and Law, "Report," 937.

⁴³Law, "Report," 937-938; and Hood, "Boonesborough and Sharpsburg," 923.

⁴⁴Coles, "History," Chapter VII, 14-20; Law, "Report," 938; and Hood, "Boonesborough and Sharpsburg," 923.

bama ended their fight in Maryland with forty-four casualties; while this was a smaller loss than in many regiments, the summer engagements had cost the Alabamians a total of fifty-seven killed, 223 wounded. In other words, of those who had enlisted to serve by the summer of 1862, only one hundred remained on active duty by the end of September.⁴⁵

Once across the river into Confederate territory, the Fourth camped near Martinsburg. General McClellan had anticipated completing his victory by following and destroying Lee's army in the south, but Stonewall Jackson and his effective rearguard action prevented that. A brief firefight persuaded the Federal commander that it was much safer on the northern side of the Potomac.

Temporary headquarters were established on Opequon Creek while the Army of Northern Virginia recovered its strength. R. T. Coles wrote home that the Fourth Alabama had "endured many hardships, been hungry a great many times, [and] had not changed clothes for several weeks, as our baggage wagon was not with us after we left Richmond."⁴⁶ Later, the regiment moved down to the Bunker Hill area where they remained several days.

Near the end of October, the army marched toward Winchester. Stonewall Jackson was left behind to watch over McClellan, who had once more crossed the Potomac into Confederate territory. By the 29th of the month, most of the army had departed for Culpeper Courthouse. During all this time in Virginia, the Fourth Alabama was replenished as the sick, wounded, or detached duty roster returned to service. Other regiments were showing a similar increase so that Lee had available in the fall an army which was nearly twice more numerous than that which he campaigned with in Maryland. However, the Confederate Quartermaster Corps did not increase in ability with the size of the demands made upon it; arms, equipment, and rations all remained in short supply.

R. H. Chilton, Lee's Chief of Staff, made an official inspection of the Fourth Alabama in November, 1862. He re-

⁴⁵Coles, "History," Chapter VII, 22.

⁴⁶Coles, "History," Chapter VIII, 1-3.

corded cryptically that in the regiment, "arms [were] mixed, in tolerable order, 12 wanting; 50 men needing clothes and shoes, 2 barefooted; camp in tolerable order."⁴⁷ For a regiment which had entered the war with such high hopes of victory in 1861, the fruits of two years were bitter indeed.

By summer's end, rebel camps were buzzing with news that McClellan had been replaced as Union commander by Major General Ambrose E. Burnside. It was his task, as McClellan's had been before him, to push the conquest of the Southern Confederacy. He began to move toward the riverfront town of Fredericksburg. On the 18th of November, the Fourth Alabama was evacuated there to help oppose yet another Union invasion.⁴⁸

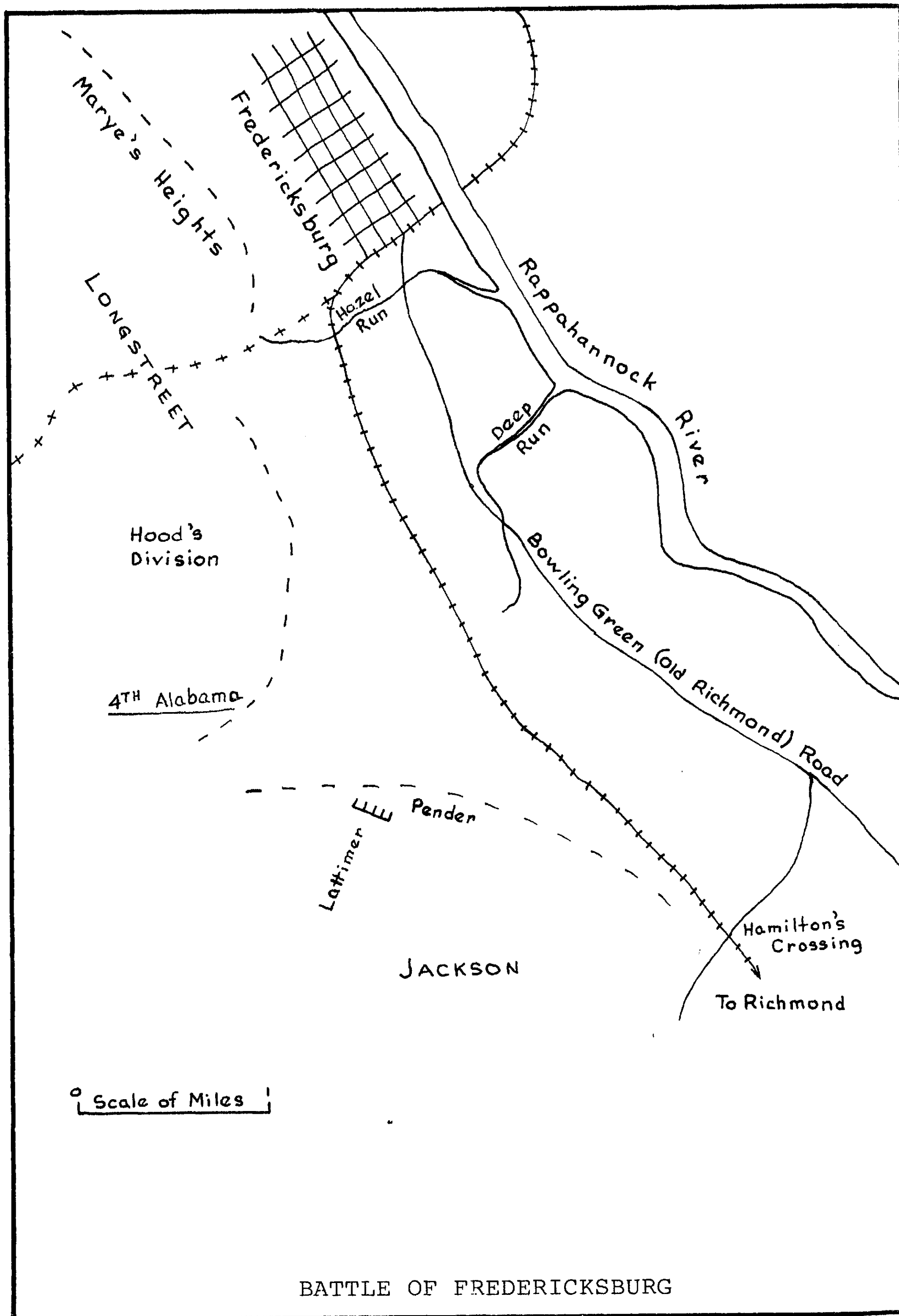
Once arrived at Fredericksburg, the Fourth was put into position at Hamilton's Crossing, below the town. For several days, there was little to do besides answer roll call, march in dress parade, and speculate on the abilities of Burnside over McClellan. Other troops of Lee's army which had arrived on site earlier had already been assigned picket duty; and while there was a prohibition on communications between opposing picket lines, a lively interchange from one side of the river of the other repeatedly violated the order. On Thanksgiving Day, for example, it was rumored that several members of the Fourth Alabama had accepted invitations from the Yankees opposite to share in a dinner of turkey and cranberries.⁴⁹

Stonewall Jackson brought in his rearguard on 30 November. The troops of the Army of Northern Virginia were all concentrated now in or about Fredericksburg, to the number of approximately 78,500 men; the opposition, always larger, numbered about 122,000 men. Jackson's wing took up their

⁴⁷R. H. Chilton to John Bell Hood, Letter, November 1862, *Official Records*, Vol. XIX, Part 2, 718-719.

⁴⁸Coles, "History" Chapter VIII, 4-6.

⁴⁹By the time the attack seemed imminent, North/South intimacy had progressed to the point where informal commercial negotiations were opened, resulting in a "treaty" between the opposing armies. The Yankees offered coffee in exchange for Southern tobacco. For a cargo vessel, the merchants used a twelve inch board, about three feet long, supplied with a mast. The sail for motive power was fashioned from a recent Richmond newspaper when crossing toward the Yankee side, or a late Northern edition when crossing toward Fredericksburg (Coles, "History," Chapter IX, 3.)



positions along the right of the Confederate lines; Longstreet held the left. The Fourth Alabama [Hood's Division] was located approximately in the middle, "very comfortably quartered, being supplied with tents, and fire wood convenient." Despite their having to wait on Burnside, who moved with considerable slowness, the Fourth enjoyed much improved rations, compared with their summer fare, and "the men were quite contented."⁵⁰

On 11 December, in the early morning hours, General Hood formed up his command and moved into place along a crest of hills extending from Reynold's House to the railroad crossing. He held the Old Richmond (or Bowling Green) Road, with a force of skirmishers. Burnside had begun to cross the Rappahannock River earlier that night, and when signal guns were discharged to give warning, Hood advanced one hundred rifles to harass the Yankee crossing below Deep Run. Hood's small force could do nothing to prevent the bridging, and Hood had to increase the number of skirmishers along the road.⁵¹

After the signal guns sounded their staccato omen, artillery opened. Confederates fell into line and began to challenge the Yankees crossing the river. The Yanks were trying to complete their pontoon bridges in the midst of Confederate artillery shelling, with little success. By mid-day, except for occasional fire, the cannonade had ceased; Fredericksburg was burning, set afire by enemy barrages, and the townspeople moved from place to place through the town in despair. The railroad depot was "crowded with houseless women and children, driven from their homes by the fire of hostile guns."⁵²

By nightfall, Yankee artillery opened again; kept up all night, it added to the already tense situation. Lee concentrated his soldiers for the assault. Hood kept his skirmishers out along the Old Richmond Road and pulled the rest of his division out of line. The Fourth was relocated near Deep Run, but for the rest of the night, there was no further movement.⁵³

⁵⁰Coles, "History," Chapter IX, 1-2.

⁵¹John Bell Hood, "Report, 13 December 1862," *Official Records*, Vol. XXI, 621.

⁵²W. C. Ward [Private, Company G, Marion Rifles], "The Battlefield at Fredericksburg," undated news clipping, Smith Papers, Scrapbook I.

⁵³"Army Correspondence of the Selma Reporter, 14 January 1863," Smith Papers, Scrapbook I; Coles, "History," Chapter IX, 4-5; and Hood, "Report, 13 December 1862," 621-622.

At 10 AM on the morning of the 12th, Hood was relieved by A. P. Hill, and the former's division moved in turn to relieve Pickett on their left. While the Alabamians crouched behind an embankment, the Yankees opened with cannon against their position again. A call was issued by General Law for volunteers to annoy a line of enemy cavalry which was drawn up some five hundred yards away. "As soon as our riflemen advanced the enemy opened on them — shooting too high — but our boys reserved their fire until within about three hundred yards, when they responded with a steady, deliberate manner, killing five horses at the first volley."⁵⁴ The enemy horsemen did not attempt to resist more than a little, and they moved off in good order.

The 12th passed much like the day preceding; it was punctuated by the everpresent bursts of cannon fire, and acrid smoke burned the air. The troops waited impatiently for the infantry charge, but it did not come. When night fell, Hood returned to his original position. "The Yankees are reported to be going down the Bowling Green Road. We (the 4th) are now lying quietly in camp waiting for the morrow's sun to summon us to the carnival of death."⁵⁵

Scattered, dancing light next morning revealed a battlefield covered with gritty black smoke emanating from the continuous cannonade and skirmishing. Hood's Division was ordered to cooperate with A. P. Hill on his right flank. General Law was to support Brigadier General Pender along the left of Hill's line, somewhat to Law's front and right, where the battle, when it came, began to rage. Even so, the Fourth had little to do. The smoke did not begin to dispense until nearly lunchtime, and from their protected position, the regiment had no trouble repulsing attacks against them.

By about 3 in the afternoon, a rank of bluecoated infantry emerged from the woods near Deep Run, advancing in battle formation against Lattimer's Battery, posted on a plateau to General Pender's left and supported by one of his regiments. General Law ordered his brigade forward to the timber edge

⁵⁴"Army Correspondence," Smith Papers, Scrapbook I.

⁵⁵E. M. Law, "Battle of Fredericksburg—Gen. Law's Report, 19 December 1862," Smith Papers, Scrapbook I [another copy, *Official Records*, Vol. XXI, 623.]

behind Lattimer, and he sent the 54th and 57th North Carolina troops to attack the enemy along the railroad tracks, about two hundred yards from the battery. These regiments forced the Yankees to retire, and they followed to within three hundred yards of the Old Richmond Road.

Just at this moment, another force of Yanks opened fire from Deep Run against the left of the advancing Southern line. The 57th North Carolina promptly adjusted their front toward the enemy, and the Fourth Alabama was brought into the fray in front of Lattimer's Battery.⁵⁶

The Alabamians scrambled down the road toward their right through a wicked barrage of artillery explosions. They sought cover through the only available expedient of falling prone to the ground, when "directly a ricochet shell killed Capt. Keith. Soon another [man] was wounded. Then came an order to forward. The men moved in a bad line. The shells ploughed the ground all 'round us. Again, we were ordered to lie down. The men were falling everywhere. One was wounded, another killed." From this position, D Company [Canebrake Rifle Guards, Uniontown] went out to form a skirmish line. They ran over a low hill, disappeared over the top, and fanned out, becoming sharply engaged with the enemy. Captain Cousins and Virginius Smith rode out to see, but shortly "Cousins came riding in, his long, black hair waving in the breeze. He said in a husky voice, 'Ginnie Smith is killed.' There was a groan of pain in the company." Quiet fell over the field at dark, and a party including W. C. Ward went out to bring in V. S. Smith. They found him still alive, but he died the following day.⁵⁷

Sunday, 14 December 1862, was usually reserved for prayer. But the day began with artillery fire and more skirmishing. Three more men of the Fourth fell wounded. The bluecoats appeared several times, but they always fell back when menaced by Southern arms. Bright sunshine burned into the ranks; the heat was unseasonal and oppressive. While the afternoon wore on, the rifle fire died naturally. Spades and axes were

⁵⁶Ward, "Battlefield at Fredericksburg," Smith Papers, Scrapbook I.

⁵⁷Ward, "Battlefield at Fredericksburg," Smith Papers, Scrapbook I: and Coles, "History," Chapter IX, 12-13.

broken out, and a harried Fourth regiment spent the night dragging logs from a convenient swamp to erect breastworks. The stellar attraction that evening was the appearance of the Aurora Borealis, "a remarkable and most brilliant phenomenon [which] spread over the whole northern sky. It began like the twilight, then changed like revolving views, spreading with a beautiful golden light."⁵⁸

However, beautiful sights could not ease the pain and exhaustion of defending Fredericksburg over a period of weeks. The Confederate army was wearied again; they had fought another major battle which had not been of their choosing, and rare had been the moments of sleep for the past few nights. Nothing much of importance occurred on Monday, however, except for a light shelling in the evening which embarrassed a fatigue squad throwing up an embankment to protect some rebel cannon. And on Tuesday, the Alabamians awoke to the now ordinary afterbattle rainfall and learned that the Yankees had recrossed the river to the opposite side.

Lt. Colonel Scruggs returned to the regiment soon after, having been absent several weeks, and everyone in the Fourth tried to relax and recover their composure. "For six long weary days we (the 4th) had done nothing but skirmish and were subjected from day to day to almost incessant shelling. As a regiment we had not fired a shot."⁵⁹ Most of the losses in the Fourth, twenty-two soldiers, came from enemy shell fire as the regiment was supporting Lattimer's Battery.⁶⁰

Not long after Fredericksburg, the Confederate army settled down into the inevitable winter routine. Pickets along the opposing army fronts began to swap pocket knives and exchange coffee for tobacco once more. The usual topic of conversation in the camps was the hoped-for furlough, which, during the course of the season was most anxiously awaited.⁶¹ When the earlier mild weather finally turned cold, bitterly cold, and when there was no longer a current threat from the Yankees,

⁵⁸Ward, "Battlefield at Fredericksburg," Smith Papers, Scrapbook I.

⁵⁹Ward, "Battlefield at Fredericksburg," Smith Papers, Scrapbook I; and Coles, "History," Chapter IX, 14-16.

⁶⁰"Army Correspondence," Smith Papers, Scrapbook I.

⁶¹"Army Correspondence," Smith Papers, Scrapbook I.

General Lee did allow "furloughs of indulgence" to those who could most easily reach their homes.

During the winter encampment, new orders required the army to be brigaded by states. In General Barnard Bee's original Third Brigade, which had fought at First Manassas in 1861, the 2nd and 11th Mississippi regiments had already been reassigned and replaced by the North Carolina units. The Fourth Alabama merely remained in place, and other regiments came to it: The Fifteenth, Forty-fourth, Forty-seventh, and Forty-eighth Alabama Regiments, all of which would remain together as a unit until the final surrender at Appomattox. And since Evander McIver Law had been promoted to Brigadier General, the unit came to be permanently termed Law's (Alabama) Brigade, Hood's Division, Longstreet's corps.⁶² In their war effort so far, the Fourth Alabama had played a role in a winning campaign, in 1861, and an inconclusive one, in 1862. They had lost many of their friends and comrades in the fighting, but they had kept the enemy at bay, and they were prepared to continue the fight so long as they were able.

⁶²Coles, "History," Chapter IX, 19-23. Law was appointed Brigadier General on 3 October 1862 (Mark M. Boatner, *The Civil War Dictionary* [New York, 1959], 472.)

THE TWENTY-SECOND LOUISIANA CONSOLIDATED INFANTRY IN THE DEFENSE OF MOBILE, 1864-1865

by

Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr.

When Confederate authorities first feared an attack on Mobile, Alabama, by the Union navy in early 1864, they attempted to send as many capable troops (particularly artillerymen) as possible to defend that city. Mobile, at the time, was the Confederacy's last major port on the Gulf of Mexico to which supplies could be run through the blockade. One of the units chosen was the 22nd Louisiana Consolidated Infantry, a newly organized regiment whose members had distinguished themselves in action before and who had a somewhat unique record of achievements.

After the fall of Vicksburg in July 1863, the members of its garrison who did not return to their homes gathered in camps for paroled prisoners to await exchange. One such camp was at Enterprise, Mississippi, approximately one mile south of that town. The remnants of eight Louisiana units — the 3rd, 17th, 21st, 22nd, 26th, 27th, 29th, and 31st Louisiana infantry regiments — were among the troops at this camp. On January 16, 1864, Lieutenant General Leonidas Polk, Confederate commander in Mississippi and Alabama, ordered that the men of these regiments be consolidated into one unit. With consolidation complete by January 26, the new unit became the 22nd Louisiana Consolidated Infantry, with a complement of 780 men on its rolls.¹

As the old 22nd Infantry furnished most of the men for the new regiment, it retained the numeral 22nd.² The men of the 21st and 22nd regiments had served well as artillerymen throughout their previous Civil War careers, handling the

¹National Archives, Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from Louisiana, Microcopy No. 320, Roll 326, hereinafter cited as Compiled Service records; John Dimitry, "Louisiana," in *Confederate Military History*, ed. by Clement A. Evans, 12 vols. (Atlanta, 1899), X, 326; *Biennial Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Louisiana . . . 1886-1887* (Baton Rouge, 1888), 126.

²Dimitry, "Louisiana," 326.

heavy artillery both in the water batteries at Vicksburg and the defenses of Snyder's Bluff, thirteen miles above Vicksburg on the Yazoo River. Unlike their comrades, the men of the other regiments had served strictly as infantrymen but apparently were well enough drilled and disciplined to fit into their new role in the months that followed.³

Company officers selected field officers for the new regiment. Those selected were Isaac W. Patton (formerly of the 21st Louisiana) as colonel; J. O. Landry (formerly of the 29th Louisiana), lieutenant colonel; and Washington Marks (formerly of the 22nd Louisiana), major.⁴ The men elected their company officers from those of the several regiments who were not absent without leave. The new company commanders were Captain Emanuel M. Blum, Company A; Captain Edward Durive, Jr., Company B; Captain Samuel Barnes, Company C; Captain James G. Theard, Company D; Captain A. Selle, Company E; Captain Walter S. Jones (soon relieved and replaced by Captain William H. Wells), Company F; Captain Samuel Brewer, Company G; Captain C. A. Brashear, Company H; Captain Ambrose A. Plattsmier, Company I; and Captain James Gibney, Company K.⁵

On February 3, 1864, Polk ordered the 22nd Louisiana to report to Major General Dabney H. Maury at Mobile. Leaving Enterprise February 7, they arrived in Mobile the same day and deployed to the various works surrounding the city. Company A was in Redoubt #15; Company B, Battery Gladden; Company F, Redoubt #14; Company G, Redoubt #12; and Company K, Redoubt #14 and later Battery "B".⁶ There are no records of where the other companies were stationed. The regiment was assigned to Colonel Charles A. Fuller's Artillery Brigade, District of the Gulf, and was temporarily commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Landry, since Colonel Patton was absent on leave.⁷

³U.S. War Department, *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 parts in 70 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1880-1901), Series 1, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 2, 327, 337-40, hereinafter cited as O.R.; Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr., "They Bore Themselves With Distinguished Gallantry: The Twenty-Second Louisiana Infantry," *Louisiana History*, XIII (1972), 253-82.

⁴Compiled Service Records, Roll 326; W. H. Tunnard, *A Southern Record: The History of the Third Regiment Louisiana Infantry* (Baton Rouge, 1866), 304.

⁶O.R., 1, XXXII, Pt. 2, 663, Compiled Service Records, Roll 326.

⁷O.R., 1, XXXII, Pt. 3, 861, Compiled Service Records, Roll 328.

The regiment devoted the next several months to routine garrison duties, to drilling those men who were inexperienced in handling artillery, and to recruiting.⁸

On May 22, 1864, General Maury sent the regiment, minus Company B which remained at Battery Gladden, to Pollard, Alabama, approximately 55 miles northeast of Mobile, to guard the railroad to Greenville from raids by Federal troops from Pensacola. At Pollard, Colonel Patton assumed command of the Sub-District of South Alabama and West Florida, also known as the Eastern Division of the District of the Gulf. Under his command were his own regiment, Colonel Joseph Hodgson's 7th Alabama Cavalry, Colonel Henry Maury's 15th Confederate Cavalry, Captain Thomas F. Tobin's Tennessee Battery, and some Alabama State Reserve troops. Company K of the 22nd moved on to Greenville on May 24.⁹ Two days later, Lieutenant Colonel Landry received orders to rejoin his old regiment, which had been reorganized in the Trans-Mississippi Department, and the 22nd lacked a lieutenant colonel from this time until the end of the war. On June 30 the 22nd Louisiana had 22 officers and 160 men present for duty, 169 effective present, 202 aggregate present and 406 aggregate present and absent.¹⁰

Most of the summer was uneventful at Pollard. Only on one occasion did the 22nd move against the enemy. A Federal infantry force of some 1,100 men under Brigadier General Alexander Asboth left Pensacola on a raid toward Pollard on July 21, 1864. The next day they attacked three companies of the 7th Alabama Cavalry who defended Fort Hodgson, a new earthwork near Fifteen-Mile House, approximately 10 miles north of Pensacola on the Pensacola Railroad. After a spirited skirmish the Federals drove the Confederate cavalry off. The 22nd was ordered to repulse the raid, moving by way of Bluff Spring to Pine Barren's Creek, where it joined the 15th Confederate Cavalry and Tobin's Battery. Upon learning of this superior force awaiting him, Asboth turned around and returned to Pensacola. The 22nd was ordered to Canoe Station

⁸*Mobile Daily Advertiser and Register*, April 12, 1864.

⁹Compiled Service Records, Rolls 320, 326; O.R., 1, XXXIX, Pt. 2 678, 703, 752.

¹⁰O.R., 1, XXXIX, Pt. 2, 677; Compiled Service Records, Roll 354.

on July 24 and returned to Pollard on the twenty-seventh.¹¹

When Admiral David G. Farragut's fleet appeared before the defenses below Mobile Bay, General Maury ordered the 22nd to reinforce Fort Gaines, located on the western tip of Dauphin Island, on August 4. It arrived by train at Tensas Landing, on the Alabama River north of Fort Blakely, at 9 A. M. and detrained. A steamboat was dispatched to get the regiment, but the vessel broke down and another was sent. The 22nd finally left the landing at 4 A. M. on the fifth. The transport got within a few miles of Fort Gaines when news came that Farragut had passed the forts below and cut them off from any reinforcements. The regiment helplessly witnessed the fall of Fort Gaines. Fate had intervened, preventing capture of the regiment with the fort.¹²

After the fall of Forts Gaines and Powell, which helped guard the entrance to Mobile Bay, the 22nd returned to Mobile. There it was once again assigned to the outer works of the city, coming under the command of Brigadier General Edward Higgins, former commander of the 21st Louisiana and an experienced artillery officer. Companies B and I were stationed at Battery Gladden; Companies C, E and K at Battery Missouri; Company F at Battery "E"; Company G at Battery "A"; and Company H at Battery "B". Where Companies A and D were stationed is not recorded.¹³

On August 30 Company H relocated to Battery Tracy, and Company G joined it there on September 6. Companies A, D and F moved to Spanish Fort on September 29. On October 3 Company I joined Companies G and H at Battery Tracy. It appears that Company C remained at Battery Missouri for several months. Company B transferred to Battery Huger on October 19. Official returns showed the 22nd Louisiana as being a part of Brigadier General Alpheus Baker's brigade of Brigadier General St. John R. Liddell's division on November 1, and on December 1 Patton was commanding the division artillery.¹⁴

¹¹Tunnard, *A Southern Record*, 304; O.R., 1, XXXV, Pt. 1, 416-18; Compiled Service Records, Roll 326.

¹²Compiled Service Records, Roll 326; Tunnard, *A Southern Record*, 304.

¹³Compiled Service Records, Roll 326.

¹⁴*Ibid.*; O.R., 1, XXXIX, Pt. 3, 875 and XLIX, Pt. 2, 633.

A detachment from Companies A, D and F under Lieutenant E. F. Russell of Company F moved out from Spanish Fort early in October 1864 to the eastern shore of Mobile Bay. On the fourth they exchanged several shots with a Federal gunboat and returned to Spanish Fort on the twelfth. During the rest of the fall and winter, the men of the 22nd remained inactive and suffered from chills and fever. At Battery Huger the men sometimes ran out of fuel. On one occasion they burned piles intended as water obstructions to keep warm.¹⁵

Early 1865 found the 22nd divided up to operate the heavy artillery of the forts guarding the approaches to Mobile from Pensacola and the eastern Bay. Major Marks was in general command of Batteries Huger and Tracy with his headquarters at the former. Companies B and K and Company C, 1st Mississippi Light Artillery, about 200 men in all, garrisoned Battery Huger, located in the fork where the Appalachee River flows away from the Blakely River. Eleven guns of various sizes provided the firepower of the work. Captain Ambrose A. Plattsmier of Company I commanded Battery Tracy, located on the left ascending bank of the Blakely River above where the Appalachee flows off. Companies G, H and I, numbering about 120 men, garrisoned the work. Five guns were the armament of Tracy. Both Huger and Tracy were earthworks rather than masonry forts.¹⁶

The Spanish Fort defenses consisted of a solid line of redoubts and breastworks which extended in a semicircle around the fort proper from a point some 400 yards below on the shore of Mobile Bay to the marsh at Bay Minette, about one mile above the fort. Spanish Fort, also called Battery No. 1, was a bastioned work which was almost completely enclosed. It was built on a bluff which projected abruptly to the bay. On the bay side the parapet, thirty feet thick, was partly natural, having been made from earth dug from the side of the bluff. The men assigned to the post did much of the construction work

¹⁵Tunnard, *A Southern Record*, 305; Compiled Service Records, Roll 326; Col. Samuel H. Lockett to Col. George G. Garner, Jan. 31, 1865, Letters Sent, Engineer Office at Mobile, Oct. 11, 1864-May 8, 1865, Ch. III, Vol. 11, 275, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, RG 109, National Archives.

¹⁶C. C. Andrews, *History of the Campaign of Mobile* (New York, 1867), 71-72; O.R., 1, ALIX, Pt. 2, 1200, 1217; George S. Waterman, "Afloat—Afield—Afloat," *Confederate Veteran*, VIII (1900), 22, 55.

themselves. The armament of the fort consisted of six heavy guns. Companies A, D and F of the 22nd, numbering approximately 107 men, made up its garrison. These companies were under the immediate command of Captain J. G. Theard.¹⁷

Captain Samuel Barnes' Company C garrisoned Fort McDermett along with Owens' Arkansas Battery, the two companies totaling 91 men. McDermett was the southern-most of the works encircling Spanish Fort. It was located on the most commanding point on the entire line — a high, prominent bluff about one hundred feet above the bay. On the bay side, the bluff had a precipitous slope with a marsh extending some two hundred yards from it to the water. The ditch in front of McDermett was more than five feet deep and eight feet wide. McDermett's armament consisted of one 6-inch Brook rifle, two 24-pounder howitzers, six 6-pounder smoothbores and six coehorn mortars. Captain T. L. Massenburg's Georgia Battery later reinforced Barnes and raised his force to 110 men. Quite possibly Company E was with Company K at Battery Missouri, where both were reported under the command of Captain James Gibney early in 1865.¹⁸

On March 17, 1865, Federal forces under Major Generals Edward R. S. Canby and Frederick Steele moved against Mobile from Fort Morgan, at the mouth of Mobile Bay, and Pensacola respectively. Canby's force laid siege to Spanish Fort on March 27. Brigadier General Randall L. Gibson was in overall command of Spanish Fort, with Patton as his artillery commander. On the twenty-eighth the U.S.S. *Milwaukee* and U.S.S. *Winnebago* advanced to within one-and-a-half miles of Spanish Fort and fired on the Confederate steamer *St. Nicholas*, while she was unloading supplies at the landing below the fort. The *St. Nicholas* withdrew up the Appalachee River. Patton fired on the Federal gunboats from Spanish Fort, and they exchanged

¹⁷ Andrews, *History of the Campaign of Mobile*, 48-49, 72; General Dabney H. Maury, "The Defence of Mobile in 1865," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, III (1877), 7; Morning Reports of Artillery, Spanish Fort, in Randall Lee Gibson Papers, Louisiana State University Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Baton Rouge, La.; Lockett to Patton, Jan. 21, 1865, Letters Sent, Engineer Office at Mobile, Oct. 11, 1864-May 8, 1865, Ch. III, Vol. 11, 246-47, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, RG 109, National Archives.

¹⁸ Andrews, *History of the Campaign of Mobile*, 48-49, 72; O.R., 1, XLIX, Pt. 1, 1048; Waterman, "Afloat—Afield—Afloat," 23.

five or six shots with the works. As the *Milwaukee* was returning downstream, she hit a Confederate torpedo and sank.¹⁹

The Federal forces began tenaciously tightening their lines around the Spanish Fort defenses, preparing for a major assault which would overrun the place. Fort McDermett was one of the main targets of the Federal sharpshooters and artillerymen. Skirmishers had been giving the fort much trouble, and on the morning of March 31 Captain Barnes shelled their lines with two of his light guns for three or four hours and drove them back. After a short lull the Federals opened up again. Barnes again shelled them from the hill-top and once again silenced them. At dusk Captain Clement S. Watson of General Gibson's staff led a sortie of thirty men of the 4th Louisiana Battalion from McDermett. Capture of the commanding officer of the skirmishers and twenty of his men discouraged the Federals for a short time.²⁰

Batteries Huger and Tracy had only about 200 rounds of ammunition per gun when the siege began. Under orders from General Maury to hold their fire throughout the siege of Spanish Fort, the men were unable to return the fire of the Federal batteries at Bay Minette. This fire became so heavy that on April 4 sandbags, brought downriver at night on flatboats, were placed on the parapets between the gun embrasures to strengthen them. On April 7 the Federal fire on Huger dismounted a 12-pounder howitzer and disabled a 10-inch columbiad. The Confederates started a direct telegraph line from Tracy to Mobile that same day.²¹

During the siege the men of the 22nd in Spanish Fort proper occupied themselves mainly in firing on the Federal siege lines and on Federal gunboats which came up the bay to exchange shots. The gunners in all of the works protected themselves from Federal sharpshooters by mantlets (screens) attached to the inner faces of each embrasure. The men raised these mant-

¹⁹Mark M. Boatner III, *Civil War Dictionary* (New York, 1961), 780; U.S. Navy Department, *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of Union and Confederate Navies*, 30 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1894-1922), Series 1, Vol. XXII, 71, hereinafter cited as O.R.N., O.R., 1, XLIX, Pt. 2, 1168.

²⁰Andrews, *History of the Campaign of Mobile*, 84-85, 86.

²¹Maury, "The Defence of Mobile in 1865," 9-10; Andrews, *History of the Campaign of Mobile*, 137, 145.

lets, made of plates of steel half an inch thick and about two by three feet square, when the guns were run into battery and lowered them very quickly as the guns recoiled.²²

On April 1 Captain Barnes at Fort McDermett received two 24-pounder Parrotts and an 8-inch mortar from Mobile. He placed the mortar one hundred yards below the fort on the interior slope of the hill. Barnes was severely wounded on April 5 when he was signalling the effect of its fire to the mortar's crew. A musket ball entered to one side of his nose and came out on the opposite side of the skull. Previously Company C lost three killed and twenty-three wounded, which was more than half of its effective strength.²³

The Federals assaulted the works around Spanish Fort late on the afternoon of April 8. By midnight portions of the works were overrun. Some 500 prisoners, including 1st Lieutenant J. E. Lambert, who was commanding Company A of the 22nd, fell into Federal hands.²⁴ Most of the defenders of Spanish Fort escaped to Battery Huger during the night. According to General Gibson's report:

The guns were ordered to be spiked, and time was allowed for this purpose; the few remaining stores were issued; the sick and wounded were carefully removed; the infirmary corps and several hundred negroes who arrived that evening to be employed in the defense, and finally, in good order, the whole garrison was withdrawn. The retreat was along a narrow treadway, about eighteen inches wide, which ran from a small peninsula from the left flank across the river, and over a broad marsh to a deep channel opposite Battery Huger. It was about 1,200 yards long, and was commanded throughout by the enemy's heavy batteries in front of our left flank. It was concealed by the high grass and covered with moss, and the troops pulled off their shoes, and thus, in a noiseless manner, succeeded in retiring without attracting the attention

²²Maury, "The Defence of Mobile in 1865," 12.

²³Andrews, *History of the Campaign of Mobile*, 90, 142; Napier Bartlett, *Military Record of Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, 1964), "Louisiana Troops in the West," 8.

²⁴Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, 780-81; Compiled Service Records, Roll 326.

of the enemy. The night was rather dark and the movement could not be hurried. From the end of the treadway they were conveyed in light boats to Battery Huger and thence to Blakely in steamers.²⁵

Companies A, C, D and F of the 22nd remained at Huger or Tracy. Colonel Patton assumed command of the two works with his headquarters at Tracy. The works received fire from Federal gunboats and land batteries and from guns the Confederates had just abandoned in Spanish Fort and Fort McDermott. The men of the 22nd were finally allowed to open on the enemy. General Maury ordered them to keep up a heavy fire and hold their position until they received orders to retire. Patton's men fired with great spirit, trying to use up all of their ammunition.²⁶

By the night of April 11 the evacuation of Mobile was completed, the fall of works at Blakely making the Confederate occupation of the city untenable. Maury sent one of his staff officers to inform Patton that he could abandon the two forts. The first transport steamer ran aground, so another was sent during the early hours of the following morning. The men spiked their guns and dismantled the works before boarding the steamer. By 9 A.M. the regiment left the wharf at Mobile. Company H was on board the last ship to leave the city and saw the Federals enter it. The men of the 22nd had fired the last shots of the last major engagement of the Civil War.²⁷

The 22nd moved in transports up the Tombigbee River to Demopolis, where it arrived on April 16. The next day it arrived at McDowell's Landing. On the eighteenth the regiment left McDowell's Landing and marched to Meridian, Mississippi, where it joined the rest of the army. On April 21 Maury's forces moved to Cuba Station, Alabama, to refit the transportation and field batteries and prepare to march to join General Joseph E. Johnston's army in North Carolina to resist the further advance of Major General William T. Sherman's Fed-

²⁵O.R., 1, XLIX, Pt. 1, 317.

²⁶*Ibid.*; Maury, "The Defence of Mobile in 1865," 10; Andrews, *History of the Campaign of Mobile*, 227; O.R.N., 1, XXII, 92.

²⁷Maury, "The Defence of Mobile in 1865," 9, 10; Tunnard, *A Southern Record*, 305.

eral armies.²⁸

At Cuba Station word of Lee's surrender and the capture of Jefferson Davis reached the small army. Maury reported later that the army "remained steadfastly together, and in perfect order and discipline" even in the face of this disheartening news.²⁹ Lieutenant General Richard Taylor, who was now in overall command of the Department of Alabama, Mississippi and East Louisiana, began talks with the Federals for the surrender of his forces. Terms were agreed upon on May 4, and on the eighth the 22nd, with the rest of the army, marched back to Meridian to be surrendered and paroled. Everything was completed by May 13, and the regiment returned to Louisiana by way of New Orleans.³⁰

Of the numerous Confederate units which defended Mobile, none had a more distinguished record than these able and gallant artillerymen. Even though units originally organized as artillery were available, the 22nd Louisiana had been assigned the important task of handling the heavy artillery in Spanish Fort, Fort McDermett, Battery Huger and Battery Tracy. When all of the guns were silent, there was no cause for regret in the selection of the 22nd Louisiana Consolidated Infantry to serve these Gulf coast forts during the final days of the War Between the States.

²⁸Maury. "The Defence of Mobile in 1865," 9, 10; Compiled Service Records, Roll 326.

²⁹Maury, "The Defence of Mobile in 1865," 9.

³⁰*Ibid.*; Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, 68.

THE CHINESE LABOR QUESTION: A NOTE ON THE ATTITUDES OF TWO ALABAMA REPUBLICANS

by

1869

Sylvia Krebs

The completion of the transcontinental railroad in May 1869 sparked an increased interest in the possible use of Chinese for southern agricultural labor.¹ This interest led to a convention of planters and businessmen which met in Memphis, Tennessee, in July, 1869, to discuss the feasibility of encouraging Chinese immigration.² The convention provoked further discussion and mixed responses throughout the South. Part of the response was closely linked to the political, economic, and social conditions created by defeat of the Confederacy and emancipation of the slaves. Other responses grew out of the traditional American image of the Chinese.³

During the summer of 1869 Alabama newspapers discussed the advantages and disadvantages of employing "John Chinaman".⁴ Also in 1869 both Governor William H. Smith and Commissioner of Industrial Resources John C. Keffer formally addressed the question of Chinese immigration. Smith, who became governor of Alabama in 1868 after the passage of the Congressional Reconstruction Acts, devoted a portion of his November 15, 1869, address to the General Assembly to the subject of immigration generally. He spoke favorably of the efforts to encourage European and northern immigration; however, Chinese immigration, according to the Governor, constituted "a special topic in current discussions upon the subject of

¹Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850-1870* (Cambridge, 1964), 187, indicates that some southern planters were considering the possibility of using Chinese laborers even earlier. The *Montgomery Daily Mail* discussed the subject as early as January, 1867.

²*Ibid.*, 189. Stuart C. Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), 173-175.

³In *The Unwelcome Immigrant* Miller argues that, contrary to earlier interpretations, the American image of the Chinese had never been favorable.

⁴See for example the *Montgomery Weekly Mail*, the *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, the *Alabama Journal*, and the *Montgomery Daily Advertiser* in the capitol city, and the *Talladega Watchtower*, the *Shelby County Guide*, and the *Bluff City Times*.

immigration.”⁵ Smith then proceeded to state his opposition to the importation of Chinese laborers into Alabama.

To the Governor the impact on wages alone was sufficient reason to oppose the importation of Chinese. “We do not want a superabundance of cheap labor,” he declared.⁶ Cheap Chinese labor, Smith argued, would work against the interests of both white and black laborers. “. . . Even in the most favorable point of view, the advantages possessed by our laboring population are limited enough. The true policy is, by all means, to enlarge rather than diminish them.”⁷

Commissioner Keffer, a founder of the Union League and a member of the 1867 constitutional convention, took an even more adamant stand against Chinese immigration. He agreed with Governor Smith that cheap Chinese labor would injure native laborers — white and black alike. “The importers of coolies would place [the small white farmer] again in competition with cheap labor” as he had been before the Civil War.⁸

Keffer added three arguments to those of Governor Smith. He argued against the introduction of a third race into an already difficult situation — a situation arising from the “fact” that the black race “is not homogenous with that of the great body of the people.”⁹ As for the Chinese, Keffer declared, “that the white race will intermarry with them is as improbable as their intermarriage with the black race.”¹⁰

To the Commissioner the moral character of the Chinese also argued against their introduction into Alabama. Even if advantages would accrue from cheap labor, Keffer declared that their “disgusting vices would fill our jails.”¹¹ The Commis-

⁵Message of William H. Smith, Governor of Alabama, to the General Assembly, November 15, 1869. (Montgomery, 1870), 15. Hereinafter cited as *Governor's Message*.

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷*Ibid.*, 16.

⁸Report of the Commissioner of Industrial Resources of the State of Alabama for the Year 1869. (Montgomery, 1869), 14. Hereinafter cited as *Commissioner's Report*.

⁹*Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹*Ibid.*

sioner concluded his report with a combined attack on cheap labor and "the filthy vices of the hordes of Asia."¹²

Commissioner Keffer's third argument dealt with the attitudes of the Chinese as he perceived them: ". . . it is well known that the Chinaman looks steadily forward to a return to his native land; that he hoards his earnings. . . ." ¹³ In the Commissioner's opinion the Chinese obviously would not become productive members of society.

The combined arguments of Smith and Keffer, scalawag and carpetbagger respectively, present a curious mixture of economic realities and racial stereotypes. Had the Chinese come to Alabama in large numbers, their presence undoubtedly would have driven the wages of agricultural labor down. And, assuming that the Chinese remained on the plantations, small white farmers and black laborers would have suffered most. Thus, whatever the motivations for the concern of the two Republicans, their perceptions of the economic impact of Chinese labor probably was correct in theory.

Keffer's more extensive argument raised the spectre of strange Oriental crimes. The alleged immorality of the Chinese — sexual perversions and opium addiction, for example — was often discussed.¹⁴ The Commissioner's references to such vices would have pricked a sensitive spot even among advocates of Chinese immigration. Furthermore, Keffer's comments on the Chinese ambition to return home — dead or alive — also reinforced a common stereotype.

Finally, Keffer's warnings about further complicating race relationships reflect a significant concern in the debate. Given the situation in the South it was inevitable that the Chinese labor question be inter-twined with the relationships of blacks and whites. In Alabama the question proved to be purely academic. Few Chinese came into the state and even fewer stayed.¹⁵ However, the arguments of Keffer and Smith and

¹²*Ibid.*, 15.

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴See Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant*, for a thorough discussion of the negative stereotype of the Chinese.

¹⁵Robert Somers in *The Southern States since the War 1870-71* (Tuscaloosa, 1965), 163-164, reported that between 600 and 700 Chinese worked for the Alabama and Chattanooga Railroad. However, the 1880 census showed only four Chinese in the state.

the opinions of their fellow Republicans and of other groups deserve further study as a part of the continuing effort to understand the interrelationship of economics, politics, and racial attitudes in Alabama specifically and in the South generally.

¹⁶The most extensive study of a Chinese community in a southern state is James W. Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese: Between Black and White* (Cambridge, 1971). However, Loewen says little about the attitudes of white Mississippians in the 1860's and 1870's when the Chinese first arrived.

ALABAMA PLANTATION LIFE IN 1860 —
GOVERNOR BENJAMIN FITZPATRICK'S "OAK GROVE"

By

Mark Keller

Generally considered our most important source of native American literature produced before the Civil War, the New York *Spirit of the Times*¹ also published some non-fiction news articles of interest to its readers. During most of the publishing life of the *Spirit*, from 1831-1861, the editors of this weekly magazine strictly adhered to a policy that excluded articles of a political nature. But as the war approached, the editors relaxed this policy and accepted a few political articles, most of which projected a pro-Southern stance, a fact not so surprising in view of the *Spirit's* dependence on Southern subscribers for most of its reading audience and, consequently, for most of its financial support.

On July 14, 1860, the *Spirit* published such an article, one which described a visit to "Oak Grove," the plantation of Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Montgomery, Alabama. An Alabamian with a national reputation,² Fitzpatrick thus represented a newsworthy subject for the *Spirit's* columns. Fitzpatrick had served as governor of Alabama from 1841-1845, as a United States Senator from 1853-1860, and as president *pro tempore* of the U.S. Senate from 1857-1860. He also was nominated as the Democratic vice-presidential candidate at the 1860 national convention in Baltimore, but he declined the nomination.

¹For information concerning the *Spirit* and its contributors, see Norris Yates, *William T. Porter and the 'Spirit of the Times'* (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University Press, 1957); Eugene Current-Garcia, "'York's Tall Son' and His Southern Correspondents," *American Quarterly*, VII (Winter, 1955), 371-384; Current-Garcia, "'Mr. Spirit' and *The Big Bear of Arkansas*: A Note on the Genesis of Southwestern Sporting and Humor Literature," *American Literature*, XXVII (November, 1955), 332-346; Current-Garcia, "Alabama Writers in the *Spirit*," *Alabama Review*, X (October, 1957), 243-269; and Richard Boyd Hauck, "The Literary Content of the New York *Spirit of the Times*, 1831-1856," Ph.D. dissertation (University of Illinois, Urbana, 1965).

²For detailed biographical information about Benjamin Fitzpatrick, see Thomas McAdory Owen, ed., *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography* (Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1921), III, 582-583.

The article concerning Fitzpatrick's plantation offers an implicit pro-slavery political view. However, the writer — anonymous, though apparently a Northerner — offers an extremely detailed and historically valuable account of plantation life and of the individual slaves owned by Senator Fitzpatrick. The writer furnishes contemporary information about the agricultural operation and the social structure of Benjamin Fitzpatrick's Alabama plantation during this important period immediately preceding the Civil War.

The text of the article follows.³

SENATOR FITZPATRICK'S PLANTATION, NEAR MONTGOMERY, ALA.

For the last two days I have been a guest at the plantation of Senator Fitzpatrick, on the Coosa River, about thirteen miles from this city, where, through the kind hospitality of Mr. John Fitzpatrick, one of the members of the Senator's family, every opportunity was afforded me to observe closely the workings of negro slavery in all its minutest details. Oak Grove — for such is the name of Mr. Fitzpatrick's estate — is one of the oldest and most extensive plantations in the State. It extends along the river about two miles and a half, and embraces an area of over 6,000 acres.⁴ From 375 to 400 acres are put under cultivation every year, yielding an income to its proprietor of about \$5,000 per annum in cotton alone.⁵ The mansion is pleasantly situated on an eminence, overlooking an extensive tract of bottom land, and is built of wood in the usual Southern style, with extensive piazzas and projecting eaves. In the rear

³The *Spirit* reprinted the article from the New York *Herald*. The text below is taken from the *Spirit*, XXX, No. 23 (July 14, 1860), 272-273. Only a few textual changes involving the correction of obvious typographical errors have been made.

⁴Census records for Autauga County, taken in September 1860, reveal that Fitzpatrick's estate covered 15,900 acres, including 11,000 improved acres. Fitzpatrick's real estate was valued at \$60,000, and his personal estate at \$125,000 (U.S., Census Office, *Eighth Census: 1860*, Autauga County, Alabama, Agricultural Schedule 4, 49; Population Schedule 1, 175).

⁵The agricultural production of the plantation at this time included 147 bales (400 lbs. each) of ginned cotton, 14,000 bushels of corn, 500 bushels of peas and beans, and 300 bushels of sweet potatoes (U.S., Census Office, *Eighth Census: 1860*, Autauga County, Alabama, Agricultural Schedule 4, 49-50).

is situated the dairy; a smoke house contain 30,000 lbs. of bacon; barn, corn cribs, and outhouses for cattle, wagons, &c.⁶ Still further to the rear is a row of frame houses, one story and attic high, tenanted by the negroes, and presenting all the appearance of a little village. Having expressed a desire to see the interior of the cabin and converse with some of the occupants, my host proposed that we should pay a visit to the negro quarters after supper, when the slaves would all be home from the fields.⁷ Accordingly, after tea we started on our visit, and after walking a short distance entered the cabin of

MARY, THE DOCTRESS AND NURSE. — Here there was a cheerful fire blazing on the hearth, and everything seemed neat and comfortable. I found Mary a very intelligent person. She said she treated pneumonia with success, equal to the best physicians in the country. I asked her what course of treatment she pursued for the disease, when she replied that her remedies were calomel, quinine, and mustard plasters. "Occasionally," she said, "I blister 'em all over with red pepper, which cures 'em sure." She had not lost a grown patient for over two years. "Children were hard to rear," she said, "especially when they were teething; but black infants were a little stronger, if anything, than those of white parentage." I understand that Mr. Fitzpatrick has great confidence in the skill and judgment of Mary, both as a physician and a nurse, and seldom, if ever, calls upon any medical man in case of sickness. Taking leave of the doctress and her family, we next paid a visit to the domicile of

WILLIS AND HIS WIFE SUSAN. — The family had just got through supper, and were seated around a huge fire of light wood as we knocked at the door. Willis bade us welcome, and, handing us a couple of chairs, commenced a cheerful conversation. The room was neatly furnished and ornamented with pic-

⁶Fitzpatrick's livestock included 5 horses, 30 mules, 15 oxen, 30 milch cows, 60 cattle, 80 sheep, and 400 swine (U.S., Census Office, *Eighth Census: 1860*, Autauga County, Alabama, Agricultural Schedule 4, 49).

⁷In 1860 Fitzpatrick owned 113 slaves, and 27 slave houses. The slaves included 61 males and 52 females; their ages ranged from 60 years to 3 months, with 60 slaves in the 20-49 age range (U.S., Census Office, *Eighth Census: 1860*, Autauga County, Alabama, Slave Schedule 2, 111-113).

The writer of the account later mentions a number of slaves over 60 years old on Fitzpatrick's plantation, but census records do not confirm that fact.

tures. The portraits of General Jackson and other eminent men were quite conspicuous. Willis is the gardener and steward, while his wife is detailed for general housework. The latter is a thin spare mulatto, and looks rather delicate. Her husband, on the contrary, is a tall heavy man, weighing about 190 pounds, and wears a remarkably sober countenance, except when conversing. He is a steady fellow, and highly valued by his master.

BETSEY, the mother of sixteen children, is Willis's next door neighbor. She has an open and frank expression about her face, and took great pride in showing her cabin to the visitors. Her apartments were very neat and well furnished. I noticed a display of crinoline that would have satisfied the most fastidious Broadway bells, hanging upon the walls, also several pictures, the portrait of Old Hickory being most conspicuous. Betsey has a cow of her own, which supplies her with milk and butter, besides a large flock of chickens and turkies. Some seven or eight of her children occupied apartments with her, and made their appearance while we were there. We next paid a visit to

EPHRAIM, the Patriarch, as he is called and introduced ourselves to the family. Ephraim is "rising seventy," he says, but claims to be "as stout and hearty as the youngest of 'em." He is not subjected to heavy work, and seldom does any labor beyond making mats, watering the horses, and feeding the hogs. His wife, a fine fat specimen of the negro race, is employed about the farm-yard, attending to the cows, &c. The old couple were both suffering from colds, but expected to be in good health as soon as the weather cleared up.

MARCH, a mulatto, about seventeen years of age, one of the field hands, is worthy of notice. He is a fine intelligent boy, and talks freely upon all matters appertaining to the plantation. He told me that he made \$30 by his cotton patch last year, and upon inquiring what he did with the money, he informed me that he "threwed the most of it away upon a watch."

"Why, have you got a watch?" I inquired, not a little astonished at the discovery I had made.

"Yes, sir," he answered, "a detached lever, and I am learning right smart to tell the time, too."

He informed me that he attended church regularly every Sunday, for the purpose of seeing the girls. Upon asking him if there was any prospect of his getting married, he replied in the negative, and gave me to understand that it was his intention to remain single all his life. He was opposed to matrimony from consideration of economy, and "did not believe," he said, "in earning money for a wife to spend in dress. These women," he continued, "must dress, you see, and after using up their own pile, they fall back on ours, which keeps us poor all the time. No, sir, I'll never get married." He admired the idea of a savings bank greatly, and determined, he said, to put his next money out at interest. March intends living at Oak Grove all his life. Nothing, I do believe, would induce the boy to change his quarters. With plenty of good food, comfortable raiment, kind treatment, pocket money more than he knew what to do with, and a silver watch, no wonder, indeed, that he should be contented and happy.

The remainder of the cabins afforded but little material for writing. There was nothing particularly striking about any of the occupants, save those already mentioned. The next morning, however, we started for the mill, where there were some of the Senator's best and most faithful slaves at work. We found Jack, the miller, hard at work sawing logs of pine and grinding corn. He had sole charge of the establishment, and managed the mill just as well as any white person could. I found Jack a most communicative fellow, and quite a philosopher in his way. He told me that he was able to saw about 2,000 feet of lumber per day, and when Saturday night came he was able to make \$8 or \$9 for himself. He made about \$150 or \$200 a year out of his Saturday nights' work, and could, if he had plenty of water, he said, make \$800 a year. I asked him what he did with his money, when he laughed, and said he buried it for safe keeping.

"Maybe you intend to buy your freedom," I inquired, "with the money you are saving up?"

"No, sir," he replied, "the Governor wouldn't take any amount of money for me. Why, he has been offered \$2,000 for me many a time. Something belongs to me that you don't find in every nigger. You see I am a little honest. Not much, perhaps, but some. No, sir, money couldn't buy me."

I laughed heartily at Jack's round about way of self praise, and suggested he must be a valuable man.

"I guess I am, sir," he replied. "I've worked on this ere mill for over thirty years, and I think I ought to know something by this."

Although he was seventy years old, he was as hale and hearty as a man of thirty. He told me that he was one of six brothers, and that his father, who is 127 years old, is still living on one of the neighboring plantations. Jack is quite a favorite among the fair sex. In the summer he takes the girls out upon the millpond in his bateau, as he calls it, and amuses them catching trout. Frequently ladies and gentlemen come from Wetumpka on picnic excursions, and insist on Jack's rowing them up and down the pond. Of course the mill has to be stopped while the miller is away on such excursions; but Jack always manages to make up for the lost time by working early and late the next day or two afterwards. On one occasion Jack was sent into Montgomery for a crank that had been ordered by Mr. Fitzpatrick at one of the machine shops. The machinist, however, refused to deliver it up unless it was paid for on the spot.

"What," said Jack, "you refuse to trust my master? Why, he has to tote his money to the bank in wagon loads, he has got so much of it. I believe I have got money enough myself to settle this here bill"; and, drawing out his wallet, Jack handed the man the price of the crank, and left the shop in high dudgeon.

AHAM, the carpenter and machinist genius of the plantation, has a workshop close by the mill. He is thoroughly skilled in carpenter and cabinet work, and recently put up a very handsome house for one of Senator Fitzpatrick's sons. He has also a great taste for gardening and the nursery business. He showed me his apple and peach orchard, and brought us all through his nursery grounds. He has several thousand young peach and apple-trees, which he sells to the neighboring planters. Last year he made \$150 by his nursery, while his cotton patch yielded him \$150 more. He has seven acres of ground under cultivation, and this spring he intends making an addition of two acres to his patch. Aham is not one of those negroes who

bury their money in the grounds. He has too much sense for that. His plan is to lend his money out on interest. He has about \$1,000 loaned out, and holds the notes of two planters for over \$700. Aham is a very intelligent-looking man, and is possessed of a great deal of general information. Besides his nursery and cotton patch, he is possessed of an ox and cart for drawing wood or sending his trees to market. Mr. Fitzpatrick has had him since he was a boy ten years old, and esteems him highly. As in the case of Jack, I don't think money would buy Aham.

DENNIS, the deacon, assists Aham in the carpenter's shop, and occasionally works in the blacksmith's shop. Dennis has the reputation of being quite religious, and wears a very sober face. I asked him if he was the preacher, when he replied that he hadn't got up as high as that yet. He merely gave "a little good advice to people, that was all." He hoped though, some of these days, he said, to become a minister of the Gospel. The Church was evidently Dennis' hobby, and I have no doubt he will one day realize his fondest hopes, and leave the carpenter's bench for the pulpit.

AUSTIN, the blacksmith, is a stout hearty looking fellow, about thirty-five years of age. He has been the property of Mr. Fitzpatrick for twelve years, and has a wife and several children. His cotton patch yields him from \$75 to \$100 a year. What he does with his money no one but himself can tell. It is said, however, that he buries it in the pine woods. He is a cheerful, good-looking man, and would not accept his freedom if you were to offer it to him, so attached is he to Oak Grove and its inhabitants.

The musical celebrity and general favorite among the negroes is Bill, the fiddler, a young fellow about twenty years of age. His musical powers may be overrated, but the darkies all say he is the greatest fiddler in Autauga county.

From the mill we proceeded on horseback to the lower settlement, where there are some forty negroes residing, under the charge of the overseer, Mr. Gunn. I saw about twelve or fifteen families, all of whom appeared perfectly happy and contented. There are four old pensioners residing in this set-

tlement, who have done no work for years, named Jim, Sylvia, Agnes, and Harriet. The first mentioned person is about 80 years of age, and has been lying on his oars for 12 years. Jim says he waited upon Gen. Jackson once at Fort Jackson, on the delta formed by the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, and tells some wonderful stories about the Indians and their depredations upon the early settlers in Alabama and Georgia. Sylvia has done nothing but eat, drink, and smoke, for some 16 years. Agnes is an older pensioner still, not having worked any for thirty years. She is about 75 years of age. Harriet is not more than 50 years old, but, nevertheless, she has managed to enjoy a pension for eleven or twelve years. The pensioners get their allowance of bacon, meal, &c., just as regular as the hands who do all the work, and never hesitate about taking their full rations either. What a blessing it would be if the white slaves had masters who would take care of them in their old days, instead of sending them out upon the cold charity of the world, as is the custom in the North. Senator Fitzpatrick never had a day's work out of Jim. He was bequeathed to him by his father-in-law some twenty-five years ago, and there he has remained on the plantation ever since. In the South the slaves are taken care of for past services, but in the North they are kicked out the moment they are useless, to choose between the poor-house and starvation.

We met Mr. Gunn at the lower settlement. He was overseeing a gang of the laborers who were cutting and hauling wood. He seemed a right pleasant sort of man, and I have no doubt he is every way qualified for the situation he holds. He says the weather there is delightful, especially in spring, and that there is rarely any sickness in his family, or among the negroes. He thought the inhabitants of the settlement were the best provided for set of people that ever lived. They had plenty to eat and drink, good clothing to wear, and were making money as fast as he was, almost.

"Why, sir," said Mr. Gunn, "I carried thirty-one bales of cotton to market for our negroes this year, and they actually got more for their cotton than we did for ours. While theirs brought ten and one-half cents per pound, ours only brought ten cents."

The conversation then turned upon runaway niggers, and

the causes which led to the slaves "clearing out," as he termed it. Mr. Gunn said that sometimes it was impossible to account for their running off. Very few ever ran away from him, and those all came back of their own accord after being away a week or two. I then asked him if he could get as much work out of the negroes as he could out of white people.

"Yes, sir," he replied, "I could if I was to watch them close. You see, negroes are naturally lazy, and require pushing. Some of them, though, never require talking to, and will do a fair day's work, whether you are watching them or not."

"How is it with the women," I inquired, "are they as valuable in the field as the men?"

"Yes," said he, "some of them work better than the men. I have got three women here that I will back against any three men in the country for ploughing, I don't care whar you bring them from."

"Is the land fertile hereabouts," I further inquired.

"Well, sir, on these bottom lands," replied Mr. Gunn, "we can raise from forty to forty-five bushels of corn to the acre. You can't form any idea of the richness of the soil at this season of the year; but you just come along in spring time, or the beginning of summer, and you will see the prettiest country you ever clapped your eyes on, sure."

I thanked Mr. Gunn for his courtesy in giving me what little information I required, and then pursued my way back to the mansion. Here Susan had an excellent dinner in readiness for us, and after doing ample justice to the numerous good things she had prepared, we adjourned to the sitting-room for the purpose of talking over the events of the past twenty-four hours.

Mr. Fitzpatrick informed me that each of the hands, young and old, were allowed three pounds of bacon, and as much corn meal as they desired weekly. Some of the negroes had their own smoke-houses, and cured their own bacon, in which case they got their allowance of meat annually. With what money they made by selling their cotton, poultry, vegetables, &c., they

were enabled to buy tea, sugar, coffee, and other little luxuries. Many of them had cows of their own, and those who had not were allowed to help themselves to milk procured from their master's dairy. As a general thing the negroes, he said, had not much faith in banks or paper money. They were very partial to silver, and whenever they could collect a pile of twenty-five or thirty dollars, they made straight for the woods, and there buried it for safe keeping. Coon hunts at night formed their chief source of amusement in the winter season. In the spring they trapped wild turkies and beavers, which they usually sent to Montgomery or Wetumpka for sale.

On Sundays the negroes attended church regularly. Some of them went to the Methodist church, but the majority of them were of the Baptist persuasion. The ceremony of baptism has many charms for the negro. They are very fond of display, and think the baptismal ceremony is one of the grandest things imaginable. After church they stroll about the country, visiting their friends at the different plantations, so that they seldom make their reappearance at Oak Grove until near nightfall.

There is rarely any occasion to punish the negroes on Mr. Fitzpatrick's plantation, and some of them never receive a lash in their lives. They appear to have an intense admiration for their owner, and "long for the day," they say, "when old Massa Fitzpatrick will come home from Washington."

I did not find any of them well posted on the Harper's ferry foray. Those whom I talked with in relation to the matter, though, were loud in their condemnation of old John Brown, and said "it sarved him right to hang him." Abolitionists would have rather a poor field to work in at Oak Grove. They could not make many converts in that part of the country, except at the risk of being lynched by the negroes themselves.

THE ALABAMA COASTLINE IN 1854

Edited by

Henry S. Marks

Edmund March Blunt (June 20, 1770-January 4, 1862) decided to publish in 1796 a book giving advice and direction on the problems of sailing along the American coastline and the best ways of making port and avoiding hazards upon entering coastal waters.¹ He also published in 1799 the "New Practical Navigator"² and three years later published "Bowditch's New American Practical Navigator."³ As a result of these publications Blunt became one of the American experts in navigation. His son, George William Blunt (March 11, 1802-April 19, 1878) carried on the work of his father, inheriting the elder's love of the sea. He moved to New York City, continued to publish his father's works⁴ as well as compose his own, and the Blunts' work is considered to be by some historians as "basic in the organization of the United States Hydrographic Office."⁵ In

¹Furlong, Capt. Lawrence, *The American Coast Pilot; Containing The Courses And Distances From Boston To All The Principal Harbours, Capes And Headlands Included Between Passamquady And The Capes of Virginia* (Newburyport, Mass: Blunt and [Angier] March, 1796). Biographies of Edmund March Blunt and his son George William Blunt can be found in G[uy] H. B[urham], "Edmund March Blunt" and "George William Blunt," *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 1, part 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964), 397 and 398.

²Moore, John Hamilton, *The New Practical Navigator: Being An Epitome of Navigation, Containing The Different Methods For Working The Lunar Observation, And All The Requisite Tables Used With The Nautical Almanac, In Determining The Latitude And Longitude And Keeping A Complete Reckoning At Sea*. (Newburyport, Mass: Edmund M. Blunt, 1799).

³Bowditch, Nathaniel, *The New American Practical Navigator*, 1st ed. (Newburyport, Mass.: E. M. Blunt for Brown and Stansbury, New York, 1802) and (Newburyport, Mass.: Edmund M. Blunt, for Caleb Bingham, Boston, 1802). It also was printed by several other sources the same year and one such is given as being published in 1801: Bowditch, Nathaniel, *The New American Practical Navigator* (Newburyport, Mass.: Printed by Norris and Company, for Edward Little and Company, 1801). However, it is definite that the work was issued beginning in 1802.

⁴The Blunts personally sponsored their works throughout their careers. The elder Blunt did so; in 1821 George William Blunt established with his brother Edmund a publishing company for nautical works. The father and later the two sons usually used their own names on their publications, as was the case with the *Coast Pilots*.

⁵Burnham, DAB, 398.

May, 1854, he published the seventeenth edition of his father's "The American Coast Pilot: containing Directions for the Principal Harbors, Capes And Headlands on the Coasts of North And South America. Describing The Soundings, Bearings Of The Lighthouses And Beacons From The Rocks, Shoals, Ledges, &c. . . ." ⁶ This work is extremely important in Alabama history for three reasons: It describes the coastline very well, giving us an insight into these geographic features of the state at the time; notices what man-made developments and improvements had been created up to that time; and shows the dangers of the Alabama coast and particularly the problems of the Mobile Bay, just a decade before Mobile became one of the most important ports of the Confederacy during the Civil war. Therefore, the section concerning the Alabama coastline is reproduced here in complete form:

MOBILE BAY. — A lighthouse is erected on Mobile Point; the lantern is 55 feet above the ocean level, shows a revolving light of one minute in duration. S. 5° E. from the light, 5 miles distant, you have 3 fathoms on the bar. The east end of Dauphin Island will then bear N. N. W. $\frac{3}{4}$ W., and Sand Island (just above water) will be on the middle of Dauphin Island. On Sand Island there is a lighthouse containing a fixed light 50 feet high.

The entrance to Mobile Bay is between Mobile Point and the eastern point of Dauphin Island; the distance then is $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles. To the south of Dauphin about one mile, is Big Pelican Island, which is barren and of small extent, and E. S. E. from the latter island, distant $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, is Little Pelican or Sand Island, which is of but few yards in extent, and nearly even with the water's edge. A bank, projecting to the south of Dauphin Island and Mobile Point, on which are the above islands, obstructs the entrance to the bay; but however affords through it various channels, the main one having 15 feet on the bar at the lowest tide. The interior of this bay has water enough for any vessel that can pass over the bar; but on account of a shoal

⁶E. & G. W. Blunt, *The American Coast Pilot*, 17th. ed. (New York: Edmund and George W. Blunt, 1854).

formed opposite the mouth of Dog River, 11 miles south of the town, vessels drawing more than 8 or 9 feet cannot, at low tide, ascend the bay further up.

By following close to the shore of Dauphin Island, and having Big Pelican Island on the starboard hand, coming from the westward, vessels drawing 7 feet water can enter the bay at low water; but to do this, you must, when the east point of Dauphin Island is north of you, steer to the southward, to avoid a narrow sand-spit which projects off from the point 11 miles S. S. E.; haul close around this spit, and steer up the bay.

There is a good anchorage between Big Pelican and Dauphin Islands, and close to the latter, for vessels drawing 12 feet; this anchorage can be entered either from the westward, by steering close to Dauphin Island, or from the main channel, leaving it when Big Pelican Island bears W. by N., (about 2 miles S. W. from Mobile Point.) During the prevalence of northerly winds, when vessels from sea are prevented from entering the bay, this anchorage affords good shelter.

Those off Mobile should recollect the necessity of getting an offing as soon as there are appearances of a gale on shore, either to weather the Balize,⁷ or which is better to take in time the Road of Naso,⁸ as destruction is inevitable if you come to anchor Outside Mobile Bar during the gale.

Strangers approaching Mobile Point in the night, should keep in 10 fathoms water till the light bears north, to avoid the dangerous sands lying to the eastward, and the shoals of Pelican and Sand Islands, on which is a beacon, to the westward of the bar.

⁷Balize is a sea mark; a beacon or buoy, from the French Balise. In this case a beacon, to ride out a storm in a bay or other protected water. From *A Dictionary of the English Language*, ed. by Joseph E. Worcester (Boston: Hickling, Swan, and Brewer, 1860).

⁸A place some distance from the shore, where vessels may ride at anchor; in modern parlance a roadstead. *Ibid.*

In running in for the land, should you make it to the westward of the bar, it will appear broken, as it consists of small islands, which occasion several openings. More to the westward the land is very level. Dauphin Island on the western point of the bay, appears high and bluff; Mobile Point, low and sandy, with a single tree on the extremity.

Vessels approaching the entrance to Mobile Bay in the day, should not run for the bar until the light on Sand Island ranges between the east and west ends of the woods on Dauphin Island.

Vessels not drawing over 10 or 11 feet, and with easterly winds, may haul in for the bar as soon as the beacon comes on within the west end of the woods, and keep it on thus until they get 7 or 8 fathoms water, when they will gradually haul more northerly; at the time all the dangers will be visible. Heavy ships must bring the beacon on with the centre of the woods, and cross the bar with it thus, in about 18 feet water, steering up N. N. W. until abreast or past the beacon and island on the port, from which an extensive shoal makes in every direction. Within the bar are two buoys, the first to be left on the starboard, and the second on your port hand. The channel up thence is deep and plain. Mobile Point lighthouse bearing between N. and N. N. E. Tide rises $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

OTHER DIRECTIONS FOR MOBILE — Bring Sand Island light to bear N. W., and run direct for it, until one quarter of a mile of the light; then bring Mobile Point light (which is a revolving light) to bear N. by E. and run for it, leaving it on your starboard hand about $\frac{1}{8}$ of a mile distant; you may then steer N. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. up the bay about 25 miles; you will then obtain a pilot over Dog River Bar, and up to the city.

In running in for Sand Island light, you will cross the bar in from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 fathoms water. After crossing the bar, should you have the wind *ahead*, you must not stand further to the westward than into 6 fathoms water, or to the eastward in less than $9\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms.

From Mobile Bay to the Bay of St. Louis, the distance is 65 miles west; on this extent of coast there is a chain of islands parallel to the main, forming a sound, which affords a partial inland navigation, and is about 7 miles wide. This coast is marshy, but at two or three miles from the shore it is covered with pines and oaks. The islands are sandy.

The sound enters Mobile Bay between the main and Dauphin Island. At this place the bottom, formed by oyster-beds, presents three shallow passes, Viz: Pass Aux Huîtres, with a depth of three feet at high water; Pass Guilori, 2 feet at common high tides, and the Pass au Heron, with nearly 5 feet.

Dauphin Island is 7 miles in length, and the next succeeding is Pettit Bois Island. The entrance between these two is one mile wide, and the depth of water 5 feet. Pettit Bois Island is narrow, but it is very easily known, since it has a wood in the middle of it: it is about 9 miles in length.

BOOK REVIEW

Charles Vincent. *Black Legislators in Louisiana During Reconstruction*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976. Pp XV, 262. \$15.00).

Blacks participating in state and local government in the South during the period of Reconstruction have been traditionally typed as illiterate ex-slaves newly come to a power that they could not handle: clownish at best, vindictive at worst, they became lords of misrule, tools of the profit-hungry carpetbaggers and scalawags, or so the story goes. As Charles Vincent's study makes evident, this image, at least in terms of the black legislators of Louisiana, is simply one more fable in the romantic mythology of the Old South. Indeed, Vincent's purpose, in part at least, is to shatter a number of commonly-held assumptions about Negro involvement in Reconstruction government, chief among them the assumptions that the blacks so involved were "ignorant former field-hands" and that they were hostile to whites. To counter these myths, Vincent has amassed a body of evidence which demonstrates that as a whole, black Reconstruction legislators in Louisiana were a conscientious, adequately competent group of men who, while committed to the securing of civil rights and liberties for their race, also held a vision of the common good that was inclusive of both races.

To create his new portrait of the black politician, Vincent has engaged in his own reconstruction project, surveying a wide and diverse number of sources in order to determine exactly what the black role in Louisiana government was, and the kinds of men who played a part in it. Appropriately his primary sources are the public documents and private papers produced by the actual participants in and reporters of political events of the Reconstruction era. The data compiled from his research is presented in a straightforward, objective manner, with Vincent content to let the facts speak for themselves, rarely intruding with speculative or interpretive commentary. While this restraint and objectivity makes his thesis all the more convincing, these qualities also make the book somewhat frustrating to read; one keeps looking for some sort of response to the human dramas lying just under the surface of the historical facts.

Vincent begins his study by tracing black involvement in Louisiana politics back to the union occupancy of early 1832. His discussion of black participation in the army, journalism, and various equal rights organizations demonstrates that blacks had already begun to function as a political force in the state by the time of the Constitutional Convention. He then concentrates on the legislative sessions held between 1868 and 1876. His background sketches of each black legislator demolishes the fieldhand stereotype; his survey of committee assignments reveal the limitation of black political power; and his study of bills supported and proposed by blacks show the extensiveness and inclusiveness of their concerns. Furthermore, their proposals in the area of civil rights were scarcely radical; the civil rights movement of the 1950's and early 60's seems like a replay of their original struggle. Vincent concludes by bringing us to the edge of a chasm into which black equality in the South disappeared for over 75 years: the abandonment of black Republicans by the Hayes faction in 1876.

Vincent's organized compilation of data thus lays partial groundwork for other scholars as the revision of our ideas about both black and Southern history continues. Further work needs to be done in placing Louisiana in the context of the South as a whole. To what extent was that state typical of the other Southern states? To what extent unique? What influence, if any, was made by the presence of the French-Catholic culture in terms of shaping white attitudes and black opportunities? But at any rate, Vincent has proven the traditional myth of the black Feast of Fools inapplicable in at least one state, and thus raised serious doubts about its accuracy elsewhere.

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THE CITY IN SOUTHERN HISTORY: THE GROWTH OF URBAN CIVILIZATION IN THE SOUTH. Edited by Blaine A. Brownell and David R. Goldfield. (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1977. Pp. 228, cloth \$13.50, paper \$6.95.)

In their introduction, Brownell and Goldfield express a de-

sire to "establish a framework for the study of the urban South." They are primarily interested in the role of Southern urban leadership, the pattern of urban race relations, and the relationships between these urban centers and the national economy. The editors are in basic agreement with Eric E. Lampard's seminal essay calling for studies of urbanization as a part of a nationwide societal process (see "American Historians and the Study of Urbanization," *American Historical Review*, LXVII, October, 1961, 49-61).

The initial essay, "The Urban South: The First Two Generations," by Carville Earle and Ronald Hoffman, concentrates on the development of early trading centers in the Chesapeake Bay area. Unlike Boston and Philadelphia, Tidewater areas were heavily populated by indentured servants and slaves, people deprived of capital and unable to exert any effective economic demands. When their terms of indenture expired, servants were usually channeled into planting activities rather than into mercantile and craft pursuits. These ex-servants often fell victim to the cyclical boom-and-bust tobacco economy of the Tidewater. Importation regularly rose as the beginning of a boom when tobacco prices were on the upswing. More servants were brought in to work the increasing corps, and after four to eleven years of prosperity, the glutted tobacco market precipitated a sharp fall in prices.

Because of this economic pattern, there was little concentrated urban development in the Chesapeake region; instead, the isolated plantation became the rule rather than the exception. English authorities were disturbed by this situation and continually tried to alter the process of decentralization. However, even under English pressure, substantial urban growth was not underway until the early 18th century. Throughout the 18th century, the demand for goods and services constituted the primary controlling element in Chesapeake urban growth. With the switch to increased grain, pork, and beef production after 1740, more agricultural specialists were brought in to the area. These people, along with some artisans, began to cluster in villages and eventually in towns and cities. In this manner, Tidewater society moved from a rural to an urban base.

David Goldfield, in his "Pursuing the American Dream:

Cities in the Old South," disagrees sharply with historians who have dismissed the antebellum South solely as a region of plantations and farms. Goldfield argues convincingly that the urban South before 1860 was "vibrant, progressive, and influential. . . ." According to his view, Southern urban centers developed largely through their proximity to rail and trade junctions. He analyzes in great detail the problems confronted by the leadership of Southern cities during this period. Disease and rising crime rates often forced some leaders to take creative steps in seeking solutions. Goldfield concludes that the shortcomings of Southern cities were typical of urban "growing pains" throughout the nation. He has bolstered his research by relying heavily on city directories and other urban primary sources.

One of the strongest essays in this book is "Continuity and Change: Southern Urban Development, 1860-1900," by Howard N. Rabinowitz. According to the author, after 1865, cities of the New South, such as Atlanta, Birmingham, Dallas, and Houston, outdistanced antebellum seaport cities such as Charleston, Mobile, and Savannah. Some cities, including Memphis, Nashville, Norfolk, and Richmond, managed to maintain the economic status quo, largely through their rail connections.

Rabinowitz disagrees with C. Vann Woodward's basic thesis in *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* and asserts that as early as 1873 a rigid system of racial segregation prevailed in much of the South. He suggested further that segregation was often an improvement since it replaced a system of total black exclusion. He argues that urban white fears of black violence accelerated the process of segregation, and by the 1880's, defacto segregation was deeply rooted throughout the South.

Rabinowitz concludes soberly that postbellum cities failed to fulfill earlier dreams of energetic Southern leaders. Cotton remained king after the war, and Northern capitalistic control of the region increased. Southern urban life remained inferior to the quality of life in the urban North, and as U. B. Phillips maintained, race continued to be the "central theme of Southern history."

According to Blaine Brownell's "Urban South Comes of Age, 1900-1940," every significant Southern city had been es-

established by 1900 (with the possible exception of boom towns like Miami). This period witnessed great strides in population growth and territorial expansion, in combination with new spatial alignments and social fragmentation. Brownell elaborates on one theme of the Rabinowitz essay — the unprecedented development of New South cities and their economic conquest of older port cities. Brownell also deals at length with the social and economic impact of the automobile. Apparently, by 1920, the automobile had won out over the trolley as the most popular form of transportation in Southern cities. Both the trolley and the automobile played significant roles in the creation of suburbs since businessmen could easily reach downtown offices from their homes in outlying areas.

By the mid-20th century, Southern cities were in an excellent position to reap the benefits of a decentralized economy and the rising consumer capabilities of a population that traditionally had low per capita incomes and limited economic opportunities. The legacies of Jim Crow rule and racial oppression retarded the development of Southern cities and paved the way for the "Second Reconstruction" of the 1960's.

The final essay, "The Southern Metropolis, 1940-1976," by Edward F. Haas, includes a detailed socio-political analysis of New Orleans. According to Haas, by 1940, the electric trolley and the automobile had provided new dimensions to urban mobility and had substantially altered spatial configurations within Southern cities. The basic pattern of development in Southern cities after 1940 consisted of a central urban core surrounded by suburban rings of growth. Haas emphasizes that in spite of tremendous urban growth, the South remained essentially rural in 1940.

Only recently have historians begun to assess the effects of World War II upon Southern cities. Naturally, the mere presence of military bases and war industries led to many social and economic changes. Galveston, New Orleans, Houston, Mobile, and Norfolk were among those cities that were drastically changed by the war. Blacks frequently tested old Jim Crow barriers, and in several cities, racial violence erupted. By the war's end, Norfolk and a few other cities had attempted to deal with housing shortages, rising crime rates, and problems concerning various social services.

Overall, *The City in Southern History* satisfies the guidelines established by the editors in their introduction. Most of these essays deal with the urban South as a thematic whole, rather than as a conglomeration of individual cities. In spite of variations in the format of some of the essays, this volume succeeds in identifying guidelines for Southern urban studies, and in suggesting areas where more scholarship is needed. The editors are to be congratulated — other editors could certainly profit from an examination of this book. Students of urban life and urban-dwellers alike will find this work of interest. Serious scholars will probably find it a solid companion piece for Blaine A. Brownell's *The Urban Ethos in the South, 1920-1930*.

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